HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL

MEMOIRS

OF

PIUS THE SIXTH,

AND OF

HIS PONTIFICATE,

DOWN TO THE PERIOD OF HIS RETIREMENT INTO TUSCANY;

CONTAINING

CURIOUS AND INTERESTING PARTICULARS,

DERIVED FROM THE
MOST AUTHENTIC SOURCES OF INFORMATION,

CONCERNING

HIS PRIVATE LIFE,

HIS DISPUTES WITH THE DIFFERENT POWERS OF EUROPE,

THE CAUSES WHICH LED TO
THE SUBVERSION OF THE PAPAL THRONE—AND
THE ROMAN REVOLUTION.

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HISTORICAL

HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL

MEMOIRS OF PIUS VI.

AND OF

HIS PONTIFICATE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Diſputes between the Court of Rome and the Tuſcan Government.

WITH greater gentleneſs of manner and ſuperior coolneſs of temper, Leopold profeſſed nearly the ſame principles in adminiſtration as his brother: and it will ever be conſidered as a memorable circumſtance in the hiſtory of the preſent century, that two brothers, two princes of that ſame houſe of Auſtria whoſe paſſions have ſo often thrown the world into confuſion and increaſed the errors as well as the calamities of mankind, ſhould in concert have undertaken, each within his own dominions, to baniſh degrading and oppreſſive prejudices, and partly to realiſe that hope, which has ſo often been diſappointed, of ſeeing philoſophy ſeated on the throne. Notwithſtanding a few miſtakes, ſuch as muſt ever attend the firſt ſteps taken in a quite novel career, the reign of Leopold will ever be accounted one of the moſt ſupportable; and

Tuſcany, indebted to him for her proſperity, will long bleſs his memory.

But, to produce thoſe beneficial effects which ſhe ſtill enjoys, Leopold had to overcome many obſtacles, to thwart many intereſts, conſequently to create many malcontents. During ſeveral antecedent ages, the court of Rome, with her pretenſions conſecrated by the credulity of mankind, and the abuſes introduced by her ambition cloked under the ſacred veil of religion, ſtood in the way to oppoſe all thoſe who attempted to illuminate and regenerate any portion of the human race. Leopold combated her with a perſeverance which was finally crowned with the moſt complete ſucceſs.

Scarcely was Pius the Sixth ſeated on the pontifical throne when he perceived that he ſhould find in that prince a formidable enemy. In 1775, Leopold ordained that all eccleſiaſtical poſſeſſions ſituate in his ſtates ſhould thenceforward be ſubject to the ſame contributions as other property; and he fixed the age at which his ſubjects might be admitted into a religious order. In the following year he ſuppreſſed all hermits who had not privileged hermitages (privileged hermits!), and reſtrained them all from begging. This was little toward the accompliſhment of the vaſt plan which he had in contemplation; but it was much for a beginning. The court of Rome ſighed and murmured: that of Florence continued unſhaken in its purpoſe: nor was this the only mortification that Pius was doomed to ſuffer from it.

How great was the alarm of that pontiff when, in 1778, he ſaw the grand-duke revive the ancient pretenſions of Tuſcany to the duchy of Urbino—collect information reſpecting the number of perſons of both ſexes in the different religious orders, and the amount of their revenues—enjoin them to give gratuitouſly the firſt elements of inſtruction to youth—oblige them to a ſtrict obſervance of the rules of their reſpective inſtitutions, a ſlow though ſure mode of diminiſhing their number—exclude them from public places—and render their ſuperiors reſponſible for any ſcandalous conduct of which they might be guilty, &c. It is a diſgrace to human nature and to the chriſtian religion that ſuch prudent meaſures ſhould at any time have been conſidered as innovations: but they were viewed

viewed as ſo many eſſays which preſaged more ſerious reforms, and might therefore well alarm the Court of Rome.

Leopold, however, in accompliſhing theſe reforms, was ſometimes miſtaken in his choice of the means and the inſtruments he employed. He was in ſearch of a man, at once intrepid and enlightened, who, knowing the true limits which Chriſtianity ought not to exceed, ſhould purify without deſtroying it, and ſhould co-operate with him in opening the eyes of his ſubjects without incurring the riſk of too violently ſhocking their prejudices. For, though as much a philoſopher as his brother, yet, more moderate in his philoſophy, he ſaw that religion was a uſeful ally to the throne, that it furniſhed a ſupport and a ſupplement to the temporal authority: he only wiſhed that it ſhould not prove its rival. But, to effect this great revolution without any convulſion, he ſtood in need of agents who ſhould unite prudence with intrepidity. The men who are beſt qualified for ſuch a taſk are rather thoſe who ſhrink from the public eye than thoſe who thruſt themſelves forward to view. His choice fell on one of the latter deſcription.—Scipio Ricci, biſhop of Piſtoja.

That prelate was noted for his averſion to religious mummeries, as well as for his bold enterpriſing character. Fond of innovation rather than of reform, he would perhaps have eſtabliſhed the reign of ſuperſtition in Tuſcany if it had before been unknown. Finding it already eſtabliſhed, its overthrow was become the object of his ambition; and he purſued his plan with much greater zeal than diſcernment. After having ſucceſsfully paſſed through his academic courſe in Tuſcany, but not without ſome mortifications which had begun to ſour his temper, he devoted himſelf to the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion, and early announced a wiſh to act a conſpicuous part in the world. He was propoſed to the Holy See by the grand-duke as candidate for the biſhopric of Piſtoja, and repaired to Rome to ſolicit the iſſuing of the bulls cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions. There the perſons in whoſe hands lay the diſtribution of ſpiritual favours ſubjected him to various difficulties, which irritated his iraſcible humour: and he returned to Florence highly diſſatisfied

with the Court of Rome. His complaints, his projects of reform, were in perfect accord with the grand-duke's ſyſtem : they fixed the attention of Leopold, who liſtened to him with complaiſance, conſulted him, and encouraged him in his reformatory ideas. Thus aſſured of his ſovereign's approbation, he immediately went to try in his little dioceſe the experiment of his philoſophic innovations. Leopold, who wiſhed for arguments and examples in favour of his own ſyſtem, ſuffered him to proceed. —Ricci now found himſelf poſſeſſed of extraordinary power, which he exerciſed in a manner that ſometimes excited ridicule, and at others ſhocked the ideas of the public. He beſtowed his attention on thoſe minutiæ which are of no importance unleſs ſo far as people chooſe to make them ſo. We will quote a few inſtances.

His dioceſe was full of thoſe *ſtations* which ſerve to retrace before the ages of the faithful the different pauſes which our Saviour may be ſuppoſed to have made in his painful walk up to mount Calvary. Each of them was marked by an image, at the foot of which the devotees ſtopped to kneel down and pray. One of the biſhop's firſt ſteps was to reduce thoſe ſtations to half their former number : upon which the people exclaimed againſt him as guilty of hereſy. He wiſhed to aboliſh the worſhip of images : immediately he was branded as a Calviniſt, a heretic, an atheiſt. In Tuſcany, as in every other catholic country, the prieſts, in celebrating maſs, pronounced certain words in a low voice : he maintained that the divine ſervice was intended as much for the congregation as for the prieſt, and that nothing ought to be concealed from them ; he therefore gravely ordained that the clergymen ſhould pronounce in a loud voice all the prayers of the maſs. With the approbation of the Holy See, which was eaſily obtained for ſuch inſtitutions, there had been eſtabliſhed in Tuſcany a new ſyſtem of devotion directed to "*the ſacred heart of Jeſus.*" The zeal of the Biſhop of Piſtoja was inflamed againſt an eſtabliſhment which he thought incompatible with ſound theology : he wrote a paſtoral letter to forbid it, and, ſetting himſelf up as a cenſor of the Holy See, aſſerted that the pope had

ſuffered

ſuffered himſelf to be deceived. This happened in 1781, a ſhort while before Pius's journey to Vienna.

Pius, alarmed by theſe various attempts againſt his authority, directed a brief to the biſhop to recall him to his duty. Miſled in turn by his zeal, he uſed expreſſions in it which the grand-duke conſidered as very offenſive; and war was declared. In a very energetic memorial which his Miniſter at Rome was obliged to preſent to the pope, he demanded of him a *ſpeedy and ſignal* reparation.—"The times of Gregory VII. and Boniface VIII." ſaid the grand-duke, "are no more. Sovereigns will no longer permit the pope to break through the reſpect which is due to them, or arrogate to himſelf the right of commanding their ſubjects." Leopold ordered his miniſter to depart immediately unleſs he obtained fatisfaction.

In times leſs fraught with tempeſts for the Holy See, Pius's letter would have been deemed moderate. But Leopold was on the watch for a pretext: his philoſophy had grown into a kind of paſſion, and the paſſions are iraſcible, and cannot brook delay. Yet what was the immediate cauſe of this great rupture? A pitiful adventure which ought never to have tranſpired beyond the gates of the cloiſters. There were at Prato ſome Dominican friars who acted as confeſſors to a convent of Dominican nuns in their vicinity. This ſpiritual relation had here, as in many other caſes, given to the ſtronger ſex a great aſcendency over the weaker; and irregularities of more than one kind had been the conſequence. Suddenly the hypocritical biſhop of Piſtoja was inflamed with ſaintly wrath: he aſſerted that the Dominican nuns of Prato had been corrupted "in doctrine and morals" by the friars their confeſſors: and, inſtead of denouncing that diſorder to the pope according to the hitherto eſtabliſhed rule, he loudly declaimed againſt their ſcandalous conduct, and addreſſed his complaint to the grand-duke. Leopold ſeiſed this opportunity to inſiſt that the Dominican nuns ſhould no longer remain under the guidance of their ſeducers, and that all nunneries in general ſhould be in immediate ſubjection to the biſhops. Pius thought it a duty he owed to the dignity of the Holy See to reprimand the biſhop

biſhop of Piſtoja for having eluded his interpoſition. Hence the grand-duke's reſentment.

The pope, terrified by his menaces, did not himſelf venture to pronounce on a queſtion which appeared to him of high importance. He conſulted an aſſembly of cardinals: theſe took the opinion of the heads of religious orders; and they, apprehenſive of greater ſtorms, acquieſced in the will of the grand-duke.

This was the epoch of the moſt ſerious quarrels between the emperor and the pope. The whole Sacred College, not excepting even the prudent Bernis, were alarmed at this combination of perſecutions ready to fall at once on the Holy See: for the pontiff was at the ſame moment engaged in a ſtruggle with Ruſſia for the archbiſhopric of Mohilow, and contending alſo with Naples and with Venice, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. Cardinal Bernis, forgetting his mild and amiable philoſophy, took part with his brethren, predicted the greateſt misfortunes to the Holy See, and ſighing taxed the imprudence of ſovereigns. All mankind are alike when their intereſt is at ſtake. On this occaſion, the pope was perhaps the moſt moderate of all thoſe who ſuffered by theſe encroachments of the temporal power. Already the cardinals branded his ſilence with the name of cowardice; and it was in great meaſure by their inſtigation that he was impelled to write to the biſhop of Piſtoja in that reſolute tone which gave ſuch offence to the grand-duke.

Cardinal Corſini, however entered into ſome explanations with the Tuſcan miniſter at Rome, which effected an accommodation; and the ſtorm was for a time appeaſed. But the firſt ſteps had been taken: the grand-duke deliberately meditated on his plan of reform, and continued carrying it into execution. The pope was ſoon convinced that reſiſtance on his part would only make the evil worſe, and entered into a compromiſe on every point which did not appear to him of primary importance. In the courſe of the year 1782, for inſtance, he conſented to the ſuppreſſion of ſeventeen convents in the territory of Sienna. But he ſpeedily repented of thoſe forced acts of condeſcenſion, when, in the ſame year, Leopold, cloſely treading in his brother's ſteps, and not even awaiting the reſult of Pius's journey to Vienna, enjoined all biſhops

ſhops and eccleſiaſtical ſuperiors to draw out a ſtatement of the different ſums of money annually ſent from his ſtates to Rome on whatſoever account—to ſuſpend ſuch remittances—and to keep thoſe ſums ready at his diſpoſal; and when, after a few months more, he entirely ſuppreſſed all contributions of that nature, and, diverting their produce from its *ſacred* deſtination, had the boldneſs to command that all ſums already collected under theſe different pretences ſhould be diſtributed among the poor of each pariſh. He afterwards, without the approbation of the pope, aboliſhed forty uſeleſs convents.

He proceeded even farther, if poſſible; and the pope's pride was particularly hurt by his next ſtep. Pius was ſcarcely returned from Vienna, and ſtill enjoyed all the illuſion of the ſucceſs of his apoſtolic journey, when the grand-duke, without alleging any pretext, without any other motive than his own convenience, ſuddenly ſequeſtrated the rich revenues of an abbey which the pope himſelf, with Leopold's conſent, had conferred on cardinal Salviati. Pius fancied he ſaw a ſtriking difference between the two brothers: he was not yet undeceived with reſpect to Joſeph's diſpoſition. But how great was the conſternation of the zealous ſupporters of orthodoxy, when they learned that Leopold had aboliſhed the inquiſition in his ſtates, and this "*by his ſupreme authority*," and of his "*certain knowledge*,"—conſecrated forms of expreſſion, which the pope thought himſelf alone entitled to uſe in eccleſiaſtical matters! That tribunal, more moderate at Rome than in any other part of Europe, was ſo organiſed, compoſed, and kept within bounds, that it was the faithful ally of the papal power without ever becoming its rival. There ſeemed to exiſt no inquiſition at Rome except for form' ſake, and, as it were, to ſerve as a model to other catholic countries. The abolition of the Holy Office was therefore not in its own nature an unpardonable crime in the eyes of the pope; but, that a ſecular prince ſhould dare to decree it without the intervention of the Holy See! ſuch an act was, in the opinion of the canoniſts, an infringement of the rights of the church, which was not to be tolerated. Finally, during the ſame year the grand-duke, ſtill by virtue of that power which was ſaid to be a uſurpation of the rights of the Holy See,

declared

declared that all monaſteries ſhould be ſubject to the biſhops; that the latter ſhould alone and without concurrence nominate to the vacant livings in their dioceſes, ſhould confer prebends, and, in a word, perform of themſelves every thing which the See of Rome had aſſumed the right of doing for them. The *datario* was to retain only the profits ariſing from the nominations to the biſhoprics of Tuſcany.

Political quarrels ſeemed for a while to mingle with thoſe of a religious nature. At a time when the eccleſiaſtical ſtate was threatened with a ſcarcity, the legate of Ravenna had prohibited the exportation of corn from the territory under his juriſdiction. Some Tuſcans, who lived by that commerce, having attempted to continue it, were apprehended. The grand-duke aſſumed a menacing tone: they were releaſed, and he demanded no further reparation. It was for a moment thought that he entertained a more favourable diſpoſition toward the court of Rome. He bore no antipathy to Pius, as a temporal prince; he only was determined to ſtrip him of all his ſpiritual uſurpations, to reſtore religion to its primitive purity within his own ſtates, and no longer ſuffer his ſubjects to grovel in ſuperſtition, ignorance, and ſlavery, which retarded their regeneration.

But the biſhop of Piſtoja was preparing new perplexities for the court of Rome. He had gained an aſcendency over the mind of the grand-duke by flattering his paſſion for innovation: and he made a beginning in his own dioceſe with a degree of warmth approaching to extravagance. The attack he had made in 1781 on the ridiculous confraternity of "the heart of Jeſus" had excited numerous enemies againſt him. He was publicly reviled as a Janſeniſt, a very ſerious reproach from the mouths of Italian divines; and he would have been ſtill more grievouſly abuſed if people had been better acquainted with his thoughts.

Exaſperated by contradiction, he no longer obſerved any bounds. Thus the world had ſeen the monk Luther begin by preaching againſt indulgences, and conclude by wreſting from the Court of Rome one half of her empire. —During Paſſion-week in the year 1786 he introduced the uſe of the vulgar tongue in the celebration of divine ſervice.

ſervice. Soon after, by a paſtoral letter he announced the convocation of a dioceſan ſynod, to which he invited all the biſhops, deans, and pariſh-prieſts of Tuſcany. Of two hundred and twenty eccleſiaſtics who attended that aſſembly, all except five adopted not only his innovations in the liturgy and in diſcipline, but alſo his opinions reſpecting faith, grace, the authority of the church, and predeſtination—opinions which, according to the deciſion of the Holy See, were heterodox. This was going beyond the intentions of the grand-duke, who was frequently heard to ſay, "I mean to reform diſcipline, but I do not wiſh to meddle with doctrinal points." However, as he leſs dreaded the exceſs than the want of zeal in thoſe matters, he overlooked the biſhop's deviations from the preſcribed line of conduct. But the court of Rome, as may well be imagined, was much leſs patient. Already, at the inſtigation of the fanatics by whom he was ſurrounded, Pius had prepared againſt the ſeditious prelate a bull of excommunication: but reflection, the fear of irritating the diſeaſe by that violent remedy, and the hope that the court of Spain would interpoſe in favour of the papacy, with-held his hand which was ready to hurl the thunderbolt.

In the following year the biſhop of Piſtoja repaired to Piſa to wait on the grand-duke, and enjoy his triumph.—The populace, every where and ever the ſame, had loudly murmured againſt his innovations: though they forgave his opinions reſpecting grace, they could not forgive his diminution of the number of images: but when they ſaw him honoured by the notice of their Sovereign, they laviſhed on him their acclamations. Already Ricci, and another Tuſcan prelate, the biſhop of Colle, encouraged by theſe firſt ſucceſſes, had announced ſynods, each in his own dioceſe. Leopold now thought it was time that he ſhould ſecure to himſelf the honour of the reformation, and ſanction it in ſuch manner as ſhould ſcreen him from the accuſation of uſurping the ſpiritual power. He proclaimed a general ſynod, whoſe object, he ſaid in his circular letter, was to prevent the diviſions which might reſult from theſe local ſynods, and to eſtabliſh throughout entire Tuſcany a perfect uniformity in eccleſiaſtical matters. Eighteen archbiſhops or biſhops met in conſequence

in

in the Pitti palace. But here an oppoſition began to appear, which afflicted Leopold who only ſought the good of his country, and which excited the indignation of Ricci, whoſe ſole aim was the gratification of his ambition and vanity, but who now ſaw his reign at an end.—The three archbiſhops of Florence, Piſa, and Sienna, with ten biſhops, refuſed to adopt the reforms propoſed by the grand-duke. The populace, ſwayed by ſuch authoritative example, forgot their late enthuſiaſm in favour of Ricci, and ſoon paſſed to the oppoſite extreme. Recollecting that he had, five years before, cauſed I know not what relique to be removed from the church of Prato, they crowd in tumultuous diſorder to the houſe of his grand-vicar—forcibly take from him the relique—carry it in triumph to the church—cauſe a maſs in honour of it to be celebrated according to the Roman ritual—run to pillage the biſhop's palace—burn the archives—vent their fury on the books which are pointed out to them as heterodox—caſt them into the flames together with different articles of furniture and the prelate's picture, ſinging hymns in honour of the Virgin, which were occaſionally interrupted by the cry of "It is thus that heretics muſt be treated!"

The grand-duke thought it his duty to repreſs theſe diſorders excited by Ricci's enemies. They had been openly heard to obſerve at his ſynod that it was "an aſſembly without a head:" to which it was anſwered, "the grand-duke has a head capable of ſupplying the place of that of the pope." Leopold determined to convince Ricci and his adherents that they had not been miſtaken in relying on his ſupport. He cauſed the authors of the tumult to be apprehended. Ricci, whether through generoſity or hypocriſy, made interceſſion in their favour. "I muſt declare," ſaid he, "that, in the heat of that popular ferment, not a ſingle word was uttered againſt the ſovereign. It is I, it is I alone, whom their inſtigators wiſh to render odious to theſe good people, whoſe ſimplicity is eaſily led aſtray. I am the ſtumbling-block: it is through hatred of me that attempts are made to defeat the wiſe intentions of the grand-duke." Leopold wiſhed at leaſt to indemnify him for the loſſes he had ſuffered by this perſecution, and accordingly created him ſuperintendent

tendent of the property of the ſuppreſſed monaſteries, with a ſalary of three thouſand crowns. Ricci, to prove the diſintereſtedneſs of his zeal, accepted the office, but declined the ſalary. Such marks of good will, however, confirmed him in his plan of reform. From Piſa, where he was retained by the grand-duke, he circulated paſtoral letters by which he ordained that promiſes of marriage ſhould be regarded by the tribunals as of no effect—aboliſhed the uſe of oaths—diminiſhed the number of feſtivals, &c.

Leopold meanwhile laboured to bring over the diſſenting biſhops to the principles of the three reforming prelates. He was ſucceſsful with only a few of their number: all the others obſtinately perſevered in their refuſal; and Leopold had in contemplation ſome ſerious meaſures to conquer their oppoſition.

On the other hand, the reſentment of the court of Rome was at leaſt equal to her chagrin; and fear alone compelled her to obſerve moderation in expreſſing it. Pius, acquieſcing in the grand-duke's demand, conſented that Pontremoli ſhould be erected into a biſhopric. But, Leopold having propoſed to him four candidates, the pope had the courage to prefer the laſt. Leopold aſſerted that the pontiff's choice ought to have fallen on the firſt, as being the man for whom he felt the greateſt intereſt. Pius obſtinately refuſed to comply, under pretence that the firſt of the candidates was an outrageous Janſeniſt, wholly devoted to the biſhop of Piſtoja. This was inviting a new tempeſt which might become ſerious. The Tuſcan miniſter wrote in plain terms to the nuncio that he muſt chooſe the candidate who had the grand-duke's approbation, or ſtate the reaſons why he was rejected, and thereby afford him an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf;—that his royal highneſs would not recede from his right of preſentation;—that, if it were conteſted, he would conſider ſuch proceeding as a continuation of the offenſive perſonalities, of the hoſtilities, which he had for ſome time conſtantly experienced from the court of Rome;—that, in ſupport of the rights of his ſovereignty, he would, if neceſſary, come to a formal rupture, and recall his miniſter.

This

This language did not intimidate the court of Rome: it ſent to the nuncio at Florence very energetic inſtructions, and even an order to withdraw if the court of Tuſcany renewed its menaces. This firmneſs was not attended with ſuch conſequences as might have been expected. Leopold was naturally of a pacific diſpoſition: he dreaded inſurrections, and the dangers of a ſchiſm. It appears even that the emperor adviſed him to yield. This was the epoch when the pretenſions of the nuncios made ſome noiſe in Germany. Joſeph in a fit of reſentment intended to aboliſh the office of nuncio: but thinking it neceſſary firſt to take the opinion of the Aulic Council, he was informed by them in anſwer that the nuncios were authoriſed in Germany by the conſtitutional laws, in every thing concerning religion and the canons: whereupon he renounced his project. Leopold did not chooſe to ſhow himſelf more daring than his brother, but, ſoftening his reſentment for the moment, aſſured the pope that it never had been his intention to ſay any thing that could imply diſrepect to his holineſs; that his reſentment was ſolely levelled againſt certain miſchief-makers who ſowed diſſenſion between the two courts; that he would cauſe the queſtion which divided them to be inveſtigated in an amicable manner; that he was far from wiſhing to come to a rupture, &c.

The court of Rome, which had not for ſome years been accuſtomed to ſimilar ſucceſſes, was dazzled by the ſplendor of its preſent triumph. But the truce was not of long duration: for ſoon after, the pope having prohibited all the books which had appeared at Florence, Prato, and Piſtoja, concerning eccleſiaſtic affairs—Leopold, on the other hand, forbade the reading of the fanatical libels which the court of Rome had cauſed to be printed againſt his reforms—books which foſtered the ſpirit of ſuperſtition among his people, and had excited them to revolt. The pontiff had the courage to maintain the conteſt; and oppoſing repriſals to repriſals, prohibited the introduction of the Florence gazette in which the court of Rome was frequently abuſed;—and, what was yet more ſerious, he forbade the importation of Tuſcan wines into the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

The animoſity of the court of Rome purſued Leopold even

even beyond the bounds of Italy. The pontiff had intrigues ſet on foot in Germany to prevent the grand-duke's election as king of the Romans, at a time when the declining health of Joſeph II. evinced the neceſſity of chooſing a perſon to ſucceed him. Prompted by ſo many cauſes of complaint, Leopold did not feel himſelf bound to obſerve any meaſure. Recalling his miniſter from Rome, he reverted to his original idea, and, by an edict of the twentieth of September 1788, entirely aboliſhed the office of nuncio in his dominions, ordaining that for the time to come the nuncio ſhould no longer poſſeſs any privileges except thoſe which were enjoyed by the repreſentatives of purely temporal ſovereigns. Soon after, he forbade, on pain of baniſhment, all members of religious orders in the grand-duchy to maintain any relation with foreign ſuperiors; declaring them to be ſubject to the biſhops alone in ſpiritual concerns, and to the lay tribunals in thoſe of a temporal nature. He commanded that there ſhould in future be no appeals to the Holy See; that eccleſiaſtical cauſes ſhould in the firſt inſtance be brought before the biſhop, and definitively decided by the metropolitan, according to the ancient hierarchical order eſtabliſhed in the church. This edict reduced to nothing the pretended primacy of the ſovereign pontiff.

The alarm at Rome was very lively. The pope immediately appointed a congregation of thoſe cardinals in whom he placed the greateſt reliance—Borromeo, a ſenſible intelligent man, of a very ſingular turn of mind, but incapable of any over-violent meaſures againſt ſovereigns;—Palotta, who, under an exterior roughneſs of manner, concealed a fund of very ſound ſenſe accompanied by great probity, and who had in general conducted himſelf very judiciouſly toward the temporal powers;—Negroni, who was the moſt agreeable to them of all the cardinals;—Zelada, whom they eſteemed for his gentle manners, his knowledge, and his conciliating diſpoſition;—Buoncompagni, at that time ſecretary of ſtate, and the moſt enlightened member of the Sacred College, connected moreover, at leaſt by intereſt, with the principal catholic courts. This congregation had for their ſecretary the prelate Campanelli, the pope's auditor. The ſelection of ſuch men to compoſe it did not announce an intention of carrying matters to extremity. But Leopold was highly irritated,

irritated, and, inſtead of liſtening to terms of conciliation, demanded the ſurrender of the nuncio's papers. On this occaſion the pope diſplayed an inſtance of vigour tempered by prudence. If he had always acted in the ſame manner, he would have avoided many misfortunes. Although he thought the grand-duke's demand very extraordinary, cardinal Buoncompagni made anſwer in his name to the Tuſcan miniſter, that he "would prefer ſuffering any violation whatever, rather than ſtoop to ſuch meanneſs," the papers of a foreign miniſter being even more ſacred than his perſon;—that, nevertheleſs, through a love of peace, he would communicate all ſuch of the nuncio's papers as ſolely related to matters of conſcience. To this declaration, which was more energetic than could reaſonably have been expected, the ſecretary of ſtate joined a proteſt againſt the infringements made on eccleſiaſtic diſcipline by the late edict of the grand-duke. At Florence the animoſity againſt the pope was too violent to admit of this proteſt producing the ſmalleſt effect: the courier who had brought it returned without an anſwer. All the opponents of the papacy, with the biſhop of Piſtoja at their head, ſaw their victory certain, and thought themſelves no longer bound to a delicate obſervance of moderation. Ricci printed the acts of his ſynod: ſoon after, the grand-duke alſo publiſhed thoſe of the provincial ſynod which he had convoked at Florence in the preceding year, adding to them an apology for the conduct of the biſhops, and a refutation of the pretenſions of the court of Rome.

That court paſſed the entire year 1789 in the midſt of ſtorms: and while the national aſſembly of France was preparing for it much more violent tempeſts, the court of Florence, not yet foreſeeing the conſequences of which the latter would be productive to all ſovereigns, continued to purſue its plan of philoſophic perſecution. The biſhop of Piſtoja did not diſplay modeſty in the enjoyment of his triumph.. While the congregation, appointed to examine his works, was preparing to deliver them to the inquiſition and cauſe them to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, Ricci, depending on the ſupport of the grand-duke in whoſe court he acted the part of prime-

prime-miniſter, teſtified the moſt inſulting contempt for the Holy See, ridiculed its thunders, its pretenſions, and its partiſans. In announcing to cardinal Salviati that Leopold with-held from him the revenues of a rich abbey which he poſſeſſed in Tuſcany, he affected to be ignorant of his rank, and addreſſed his letter to "the prieſt Salviati." Leopold, on his part, not content with recommending in a circular letter to all the Tuſcan biſhops to conform to the principles of the ſynod of Piſtoja, advanced temporal pretenſions at the expence of the papacy, and claimed the duchy of Urbino, as uſurped by the popes from his predeceſſors.

But the period of the tribulations which Pius had been doomed to ſuffer from the grand-duke, was now arrived. An unexpected incident opportunely happened, which ſaved him from the impending criſis. The days of Joſeph II. were numbered: he died on the 22d of February 1790; and Leopold was called to the imperial throne. The reforms which had been introduced in church affairs were now deprived of their principal ſupport. Scarcely had he quitted Tuſcany, when ſuperſtition regained there a part of the ground ſhe had loſt. The proviſional regency, eſtabliſhed by Leopold under the guidance of Gianni as preſident, adopted injudicious meaſures, of which the reſult was a dearth and popular commotions. The clergy, long kept in ſubjection, again reared their heads, and for a time reſumed their former ſway. The regency thought themſelves very happy in being allowed to come to terms with them, and left the arch-biſhops of Florence, Piſa, and Sienna, at full liberty to re-eſtabliſh every thing that had been deſtroyed. In an inſtant were ſeen to revive from their aſhes the confraternities, the proceſſions, the altars that had been overthrown, the ancient liturgy, and all the religious mummeries.

But an act of weakneſs was never found an effectual mean of appeaſing diſcontent. The confraternities, the hermitages, the reliques, did not procure for the people thoſe ſupplies of wine and oil of which they ſtood in need. Some private ſtorehouſes were plundered; and the preſident Gianni could no otherwiſe ſave himſelf from the violence of the infuriate populace than by eſcaping through

through a window. Inebriated with fanaticiſm, the people of Tuſcany were on the point of launching into the ſame exceſſes as the French nation committed in the intoxication of their liberty. Their fury however ſubſided when they no longer had before their eyes the principal object of their hatred: and the court of Rome obtained at leaſt a ſlight conſolation amid the evils by which it was threatened, and which itſelf had provoked. But its triumph was neither complete nor durable. Every thing of an eſſential nature in Leopold's eſtabliſhments ſurvived his removal. After the inſurrection of the populace, the biſhop of Piſtoja retired to Chiante, where he continued to exerciſe his fantaſtic functions: thence he iſſued, in favour of all who applied to him, thoſe diſpenſations for which until then application had always been made to Rome; and, perſevering with puerile obſtinacy in the proſecution of his plans, he ſucceeded in ſubſtituting a breviary * of his own invention in lieu of that uſed in the Roman church. Wiſe Leopold! were theſe the victories which you pointed out to his zeal?

But the new grand-duke, leſs ardent than his father, and having, in common with other ſovereigns, his reaſons for dreading reforms, far from encouraging the biſhop of Piſtoja, prevailed on him to reſign his ſee. The intelligence of this event was grateful to the court of Rome: nor was Leopold tardy to announce it in an affectionate letter to Pius, to which he thought that ſlight atonement juſtly due.

CHAP.

* A book of prayers uſed by the Romiſh clergy, and containing all the different ſervices except the maſs.

CHAPTER XIX.

Diſputes between PIUS *and the Court of Naples.*

THE courts of Vienna and Florence were not the only ones that haraſſed Pius during the fifteen years immediately antecedent to the French revolution. That of Naples had from an earlier period been engaged with the Roman See in diſputes of a more ſerious nature, and of which the conſequences were ſtill more diſagreeable to the pontiff.

The Neapolitan government, however, did not entertain any perſonal antipathy to Pius, although it had taken ſome ſteps to oppoſe his elevation to the pontificate. But it was at this time ſwayed by the marquis Tanucci, who, with all his native warmth and pertinacity, ſubſerved the animoſity of the houſe of Bourbon againſt the Jeſuits,—who had framed for himſelf a certain ſyſtem of philoſophy ſtrongly inimical to the uſurpations of the court of Rome,—and who, above all things, viewed with indignation the kind of vaſſalage to which the crown of Naples was reduced with reſpect to the papacy.

Theſe different cauſes of diſcord excited the clouds of miſunderſtanding between the two courts within a few months after Pius had aſſumed the tiara.

Don Carlos, who afterward mounted the throne of Spain under the name of Charles the Third, had, on his acceſſion to the crown of Naples in 1735, found the Neapolitan clergy in poſſeſſion of conſiderable influence, and of four fifths of the entire revenue of the kingdom. Though religiouſly diſpoſed, he entertained ſufficiently preciſe ideas reſpecting the temporal authority, and perſeveringly laboured to confine the ſpiritual power within

its proper bounds. He had heard mention made of a profeſſor of law in the univerſity of Piſa, by name Tanucci, who had acquired great fame by his theologic erudition and the firmneſs of his principles. He invited him to court, and ſoon gave him his entire confidence. During the reign of Don Carlos, however, Tanucci had done nothing more than pave the way for the great reforms in eccleſiaſtic affairs. But, having been nominated preſident of the regency which Charles, at the time of his departure for Spain, had appointed for the minority of his ſon (Ferdinand the Fourth) whom he left on the throne of Naples, Tanucci, now releaſed from every reſtraint, gave the rein to the impetuoſity of his character, and ſeriouſly bent his thoughts on deſpoiling the Holy See of its uſurpations.

The duchy of Benevento was ſequeſtrated in 1768. In the following year Tanucci made a conſiderable diminution in the fees accruing to the Roman chancellery: he prohibited the monaſteries from making new acquiſitions of property: he ſtripped the nuncio of ſeveral of his pretended privileges. It was cuſtomary to ſend annual contributions from Naples for the works of Saint Peter's church and for the Vatican Library: theſe were ſuppreſſed. Tanucci even diſputed the pope's right to confer benefices within the dominions of the Neapolitan monarch. In 1772 he revived the pretenſions of young Ferdinand, as heir of the houſe of Farneſe, to the duchies of Caſtro and Ronciglione. The diſpleaſure which the court of Rome had given to the houſe of Bourbon by its conduct toward the Duke of Parma, furniſhed a plauſible pretext for theſe acts both of temporal and ſpiritual hoſtility. But the hour of reconciliation arrived: the duchy of Benevento was reſtored: the preſentation of the palfrey*, which had been ſuſpended, was again put in practice. But the changes which had been effected in eccleſiaſtic diſcipline ſtill ſubſiſted: and when the bull for the ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits—that bull ſo earneſtly ſolicited and ſo long expected—was at length publiſhed in the ſtates of his Neapolitan majeſty, it was with the following

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* See page 23.

ing clauſe—" without prejudice to the rights of the royal ſovereignty and juriſdiction."

Pius the Sixth, on his acceſſion to the pontifical chair, endeavoured to cajole the court of Naples: but he ſoon found that his efforts were ineffectual. Cardinal Orſini, the Neapolitan miniſter at Rome, who had made fruitleſs exertions to prevent Pius's election, now reſigned his miniſterial functions, after having repreſented the new pontiff to his court as a zealous partiſan of the Jeſuits.

Tanucci did not need this additional incentive to the proſecution of his plan. He maintained that to the king alone belonged the right of nominating to the biſhoprics and abbeys which were of royal advowſon, that the pope could, at moſt, appoint only to thoſe of a different deſcription, and that, even then he was bound to confer them on perſons approved by the king. He confined within narrower limits the juriſdiction of the nunciature, and even took a pleaſure in thwarting the pope on ſubjects of trifling importance. Among the variety of abſurd cuſtoms introduced by the Holy See, was that of granting a four years' indulgence to all who during the jubilee ſhould viſit four of the principal churches at Rome. A royal edict was iſſued, which declared, that, to obtain thoſe ſpiritual favours, it was ſufficient to perform that pious formality in four churches at Naples. In this inſtance the ſovereign ſhowed himſelf even more ridiculous than the pontiff: if he believed in the efficacy of indulgences, he could not, deſtitute as he was of ſpiritual power, think himſelf authoriſed to determine the mode of obtaining them: he therefore in his turn was guilty of uſurpation; but there are countries where philoſophy is obliged to compromiſe with ſuperſtition.

Tanucci adopted meaſures of greater utility: he ſuddenly ſuppreſſed ſeventy-eight monaſteries in Sicily; he conſolidated ſome biſhoprics into one, cauſed abbeys to be conferred by the ſole authority of the king, and directed the biſhops to fill by their own nomination the vacant livings in their dioceſes. It was no longer poſſible to foreſee where the court of Naples would ſtop: even by that of Spain it was conſidered as overſtepping the bounds of prudence. The Spaniſh miniſter Monino was inſtructed

to interpoſe: but cardinal Orſini confirmed Tanucci in his obſtinate perſeverance.

At this period the archbiſhopric of Naples became vacant, and proved the ſource of a new conteſt between Pius and Ferdinand. The king claimed the right of nominating to it according to his own pleaſure; and the pontiff maintained that the nomination could not take effect without his concurrence. Cardinal Giraud, who had materially contributed to the elevation of Pius to the pontificate, and retained a certain aſcendency over him, acted as mediator in bringing this difference to an amicable termination, and without the intervention of Tanucci or Orſini. It was agreed that the king alone ſhould nominate to the archbiſhopric of Naples, and that, in return the ſee of Palermo, which was alſo vacant at the ſame time, ſhould be conferred by the pope without the concurrence of Ferdinand.

But when the ground of quarrels is of ancient date, and they are connected with perſonalities, whatever truces may temporarily ſuſpend them are not of long duration. Tanucci and Orſini on the one hand, on the other the pope's ſecretary of ſtate and the Rezzonicos, mortified at Giraud's ſucceſs, ſought and ſoon found an opportunity of breaking that which had been concluded on this occaſion. A perſuaſion was excited in the mind of the pope that the new archbiſhop of Naples was tainted with Janſeniſm. To incur ſuch an accuſation, it was ſufficient that a man were known to be not a friend to the Jeſuits. From a period of above three centuries back, the archbiſhop of Naples had by invariable uſage been decorated with the Roman purple. Ferdinand aſked that cuſtomary favour for his creature: Pius refuſed it; and hoſtilities blazed forth anew. This event exactly co-incided with the wiſhes of Tanucci, whoſe buſtling diſpoſition inſtigated him to ſeek for broils with even greater eagerneſs than his philoſophy led him to purſue plans of reform. He was moreover ſtung with jealous mortification on obſerving that the new Spaniſh miniſter, the duke de Grimaldi, lived on terms of cloſeſt intimacy with his couſin-german Pallavicini, the ſecretary of ſtate. He was apprehenſive of a ſecret underſtanding between them for the purpoſe of inducing Charles the Third to recommend

mend to his ſon a more moderate conduct toward the court of Rome. The uſual effect of oppoſition on his temper was to irritate him, but never to make him recede from his purpoſe. Accordingly he ſent information to the pope, that a perſiſtence in his refuſal ſhould be followed by retaliation on the part of the Neapolitan government; that the archbiſhops of Naples ſhould never again be permitted to accept a ſeat in the Sacred College; that they could readily diſpenſe with Roman decorations; that the king would create an eccleſiaſtic order of which the members ſhould be clothed in purple after the manner of the cardinals; that, after all, the cardinalitian dignity was nothing more than a *ſuperfetation* in the hierarchy, &c.

Pius felt ſome alarm, and had recourſe to paternal remonſtrances, the mode in which he uſually concluded. His nuncio was inſtructed to repreſent mildly to the king that his holineſs felt a conſcientious repugnance to the exaltation of a Janſeniſt to the cardinalate. But he experienced an unyielding inflexibility in the Neapolitan court, where Tanucci ſtill maintained his ſway. In all his meaſures, even thoſe of the moſt prudent caſt, a love of miſchief bore ſome ſhare. He ſtudied to procure a triumph for that chimerical Janſeniſm which excited ſuch uneaſy ſcruples in the boſom of the holy father. The new archbiſhop of Naples was obliged to eraſe from the paſtoral letter by which he announced his nomination the cuſtomary words "*et apoſtolicæ ſedis gratiâ* *," which would have implied that he was indebted for it to the ſee of Rome.

About this time a Dominican friar, a profeſſor of theology, wrote a book which the Roman inquiſition prohibited under the pretence that it was tinctured with Janſeniſm. The author was degraded from his profeſſorial chair by cardinal Boxadors the general of his order, and ſummoned to appear before him. He obeyed: but ſcarcely had he reached Rome, when the king—or, to ſpeak more properly, Tanucci—ordered him to return to Naples, to reſume his chair, and to write a continuation of his work. The docile Dominican paid equal obedience to

* "And through the favour of the apoſtolic ſee."

to this new mandate; and the mortification of the court of Rome was extreme.

Every circumſtance now ſeemed to co-operate in exaſperating the quarrel between the papacy and the Neapolitan government. The former had peaceably enough recovered the privilege of annually receiving from the latter a homage which was ſtill more flattering to the vanity of the pontiff than thoſe purely eccleſiaſtic prerogatives which were ſucceſſively reſted from his graſp: I mean the preſentation of the palfrey.

It is well known that Charles of Anjou, who was in great meaſure indebted to the protection of the pope for the acquiſition of the throne of Naples, wiſhing at once to exhibit a proof of his gratitude and to ſanction his uſurpation by the ſtamp of legitimacy, ſubjected his newly-acquired kingdom to the annual payment of forty-thouſand florins to the ſee of Rome, and ſurpaſſing in obſequiouſneſs his predeceſſors of the Norman line, declared himſelf a vaſſal of the ſovereign pontiff, binding himſelf to preſent to him every year a white palfrey, and entailing on all his ſucceſſors the performance of that degrading act of homage.

At the period of theſe tranſactions the popes ſtood towering in the zenith of that power which at length gave ſcandal to all Europe whom they had ſo long kept in thraldom. It may well be ſuppoſed that their arrogance took due advantage of ſo ſtriking an inſtance of ſubmiſſion. The ſervile devotion of the temporal ſovereigns even outran the pretenſions of the Roman ſee. Thoſe of Naples had prided themſelves in a diſplay of munificence as a palliative of their degradation: nor had the popes neglected to claim theſe homages as matter of right, and to conſider the moſt trifling minutiæ of them as an eſſential part of their dignity. When that was at ſtake, every thing, even the moſt ridiculous cuſtom, was accounted ſacred; and the guilt of *ſacrilege*, as it were, attached to the man who ſhould dare in the ſlighteſt degree to infringe it. But neither the name nor the deed carried any terror to the ſoul of Tanucci. He only awaited a convenient pretext to emancipate the crown of Naples from the tributary ſubjection in which he had found it ſunk. The following was the mode of tendering that tribute, which

which had in the firſt inſtance been ſtipulated in a very vague manner by its vile and criminal author.

Every year, on the eve of the feſtival of the apoſtles Peter and Paul, at the concluſion of veſpers, a kind of throne was erected for the pope in the area before St. Peter's church. A white palfrey was led to him, richly capariſoned, and ſhod with ſilver. On the left ſide of the ſaddle hung a purſe containing ſix thouſand ducats, or a bill to the ſame amount, payable at ſight. Prince Colonna, the grand-conſtable of the kingdom of Naples, had the charge of preſenting the palfrey, which for that purpoſe was conducted to the foot of his holineſs's throne: prince Colonna then gave the animal a ſtroke with a rod on the fore-legs; whereupon the docile creature, having been long trained to the performance of this reſpectful feat, proſtrated himſelf, and again roſe. His miſſion now fulfilled, his illuſtrious interpretor took the gold or the paper, preſented it to the pope, and thus cloſed the ceremony. The court of Rome was careful to enhance the pomp of the ſcene by the moſt magnificent apparatus: and could it do leſs to honour that remnant of the ſovereign ſupremacy which it once had arrogated to itſelf over all Chriſtendom?

The pontiffs, however, had not uninterruptedly enjoyed the proud gratification of this tribute. During the continuance of their grand conteſt with the courts of the houſe of Bourbon, the preſentation of the palfrey had been ſuſpended: after the reconciliation, the practice was reſumed: but even in the ſecond year, in 1776, the performance itſelf was productive of a ſcene which might have been followed by its abolition. A diſpute of etiquette aroſe between the pages of Cornaro the governor of Rome and thoſe of prince Colonna, which had nearly interrupted the *auguſt* ceremony. It was aſſerted at the time that the quarrel had been privately excited by cardinal Pallavicini who was ſuſpected of acting in colluſion with the miſchievous Tanucci. Such a manœuvre was by no means probable: yet Pius was ſo far ſatisfied of its probability that he conceived a yet ſtronger antipathy to his ſecretary of ſtate, whom he had never loved, and in whom he always viewed the man who had been his moſt formidable competitor. However the queſtion

may

may be decided reſpecting the charge againſt Pallavicini, Tanucci took occaſion, from the ſcene which had occurred, to propoſe the adoption of a much leſs pompous mode of preſenting the palfrey and the money. But, for one of his ſucceſſors was reſerved the taſk of accompliſhing ſomething further. Tanucci, bowed down with the weight of years, ſoon after retired from the miniſtry; an event which proved a ſource of great joy to the court of Rome. The pope however had the prudence to refrain from teſtifying the pleaſure which he felt on the occaſion: and it was well that he obſerved that caution; for Tanucci had relinquiſhed only the title of prime miniſter, and for ſome time longer continued to enjoy all the power annexed to the ſtation.

But, before he retired from office, he prevailed on the king to adopt the meaſure of which the pontiff was apprehenſive. The Neapolitan miniſter was directed to announce to the pope, that, for the purpoſe of avoiding all future diſputes on the ſubject of etiquette, the palfrey and the ſix thouſand ducats ſhould thenceforward be preſented, not by the grand-conſtable Colonna inveſted with the character of embaſſador extraordinary, but by a ſimple agent.

We have often ſeen with what fond affection Pius cheriſhed the pomp of ceremonial. The Neapolitan declaration therefore wounded him in a very tender part; and in his affliction he turned for relief to the Spaniſh Miniſter, knowing that Charles the Third, when he had not any ſubject of quarrel with him, ſymphathiſed in his diſtreſſes, and that he retained conſiderable influence over the young king his ſon, and over Tanucci. His complaints did not meet with a reception correſpondent to his hopes. The court of Madrid was not yet certain of his intentions with reſpect to the Jeſuits, and accuſed him of having given teſtimonies of his condeſcenſion to their partiſans. The Spaniſh Miniſter Florida-Blanca did not conceal from cardinal Pallavicini that he had himſelf little reliance on the efficacy of his interceſſion. That miniſter, naturally of an imperious temper, was extremely impatient of the ſlighteſt attack upon what he juſtly conſidered as his own work.

Within

Within a very ſhort time after, he was recalled home to occupy the ſtation of Prime Miniſter of Spain, and was ſucceeded in his foreign miſſion by the Duke de Grimaldi. Pius, although he felt an eſteem for Florida-Blanca, was nevertheleſs rejoiced to ſee himſelf relieved from the preſence of that auſtere cenſor. The ſecretary of ſtate eſpecially was delighted to learn that the poſt of Spaniſh Miniſter at Rome was to be filled by his near relative whom he called his protector, and with whoſe eaſy diſpoſition he was acquainted. But the pope and his miniſter were not benefited by the change. The count de Florida-Blanca entered on his miniſtry with a thorough knowledge of the court of Rome, of its prejudices, of its ridiculous pretenſions, and its conteſts with the Neapolitan court. Till that time he had acted in rigid conformity to rigid inſtructions: thenceforward it was by himſelf that the inſtructions were to be given. As to the duke de Grimaldi, it was ſoon perceived at Madrid that he ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by the Jeſuitical party: and the confidence of the court was repoſed in the chevalier Azara, who, at firſt under the ſimple title of agent, and after a few years under that of miniſter, acquired at Rome the aſcendency to which his knowledge and energetic character juſtly entitled him.

The count de Florida-Blanca—who, previous to his departure from Rome, had been a witneſs of the profane chagrin excited in the pope's boſom by the threats of the Neapolitan court reſpecting the palfrey, and had obſerved him to ſigh at the idea that it would perhaps be under his pontificate that the Holy See ſhould be deprived of that *glorious* homage—condeſcended to exert all his influence for the purpoſe of ſaving him from that mortification.—His efforts were ſucceſsful, and the famous ceremony was performed in 1777 with the accuſtomed pomp. The pope teſtified a pueriſe joy on the occaſion; and the people of Rome celebrated with enthuſiaſm what they conſidered as a kind of victory. That victory however was not in all points complete: and it was eaſy to perceive that the court of Naples reluctantly yielded to a foreign impulſe. The conſtable Colonna, in preſenting the tribute from the Neapolitan monarch, added, to the

ſolemn

ſolemn expreſſions conſecrated by long cuſtom, theſe words of ſiniſter omen, " for the preſent year," and ſaid that " the preſentation of the palfrey was only a teſtimony of devotion toward Saint Peter and Saint Paul." Hereupon the pope, though taken unaware, immediately replied, " We accept the palfrey as a feudel offering due from the crown of Naples :" and the attending crowd applauded this reply by repeated cries of " *viva ! viva !*" Such are the important objects with which ſovereigns often feed their vanity !—On both ſides ſome diſſatisfaction prevailed. At Naples the grandees murmured, and complained that the advantage ſo courageouſly gained by Tanucci was baſely relinquiſhed by his ſucceſſor.

That ſucceſſor, the marquis della Sambucca, did not however ſpare the feelings of the court of Rome in other reſpects : he purſued Tanucci's plan, or rather the ſpirit of Tanucci continued to animate and guide the Neapolitan government. In the ſame year all the biſhops in the kingdom were forbidden to receive bulls from Rome under any pretence whatever. Notwithſtanding the conſtitutional independence which Sicily was entitled to enjoy with reſpect to the See of Rome, the popes, ever dextrous in taking advantage of any negligence in the ſecular governments, had ſucceeded in cauſing their bulls to be accepted by the biſhops of that iſland, and even obtaining the royal *exſequatur*. This abuſe was proſcribed. The vigilance of old Tanucci would not ſuffer even in the marquis della Sambucca the ſlighteſt derogation from the treaties which bound the court of Rome. That new miniſter wiſhed to tolerate in the kingdom of Naples two ex-Jeſuits, his relatives. Tanucci ſecretly complained of the circumſtance of the court of Madrid ; and immediately Charles III. who ſtill continued to exerciſe his paternal authority at Naples, very ſeriouſly recommended to the king his ſon not to ſuffer that exception from the general law which baniſhed the defunct ſociety from his dominions. At this period his recommendations ſtill poſſeſſed over the king of Naples all the influence of commands. Sambucca's two *protégés* were ſent after their brethren into the papal territory. Thus an abſent and foreign monarch gave the law

law at Naples through the organ of a minister who had ceased from his functions: and this singular phænomenon suggested to a traveller who was at that time passing through the Neapolitan dominions, that "the kingdom of Naples resembled the Empire of the shades."

The interposition of Charles, however, for some time saved the pontiff from new mortifications, and effected a temporary suspension of his disputes with the Neapolitan court. On each side some slight testimonies of condescension were given. The king deigned to ask the pope's consent to the suppression of a rich Carthusian monastery; and the pope deigned to acquiesce, but on condition that, in taking possession of the property belonging to it, he should make provision for the support of its monkish inmates. The presentation of the palfrey took place in 1778, but with the same mortifying restrictions as in the preceding year. The king had still an existing cause of complaint against the Holy See: the pontiff persevered in his refusal to grant the Roman purple to the archbishop of Naples. Ferdinand lost his patience, and suddenly put a stop to the dispensations which the *datario* still continued to grant. By this measure the pope saw one branch of his revenue cut off: yet he checked the emotions of his resentment, and hoped that time would operate much in his favour: but time was his most cruel enemy; it was employed in maturing the plans of those new hostilities which his opponents were preparing for him, and which the pontiff himself ceased not to provoke by his own obstinacy.

The king of Naples, conformably to preceding regulations, himself, by virtue of his right of advowson, nominated to all the bishoprics which became vacant in his dominions. The pope refused to confirm his choice, and still maintained that the nomination belonged to the Holy See; he did not however nominate; and thus the dioceses remained destitute of spiritual superiors, and the people murmured against the Court. At the same time Pius affected to betray a want of consideration for prince Cimitile, the Neapolitan plenipotentiary, and neglected to cultivate the good-will of the marquis della Sambucca

who

who had ſhewn a diſpoſition to ſupport him. That miniſter had ſent to Rome one of his ſons, whom he deſtined for the clerical profeſſion; and the pope, under pretence that the young man was guilty of irregularities in his conduct there, refuſed to give him an abbey for which he made ſolicitation—as if *the ſon of a miniſter* ſtood in need of perſonal merit to entitle him to any favour whatever! Never had the ſcruples of Pius been ſo unſeaſonable.

Theſe various incidents had ſuch an effect in exciting mutual animoſity, that in 1780 the one party was determined on a complete rupture, while the other looked forward to ſuch an event with reſignation. Prince Cimitile, who had for ſome time been abſent, ſuddenly returned to Rome, and declared to the pope, that, unleſs the vacant fees were filled without delay, he would entirely quit his court. The pontiff, who had his alternate fits of firmneſs and weakneſs, did not on this occaſion ſuffer himſelf to be intimidated by the threat: but, miſtaking obſtinacy for dignified ſteadineſs, "What!" ſaid he to his friends—"that court of Naples treats me with greater contempt than a village prieſt."

There was a circumſtance, however, which encouraged him to that diſplay of reſolution, and rendered it leſs meritorious. He was ſupported by Bernis and the chevalier Azara: their courts were diſpleaſed to ſee that of Naples betray a greater portion of malevolence than of firmneſs in the attacks which it made on the papacy. The former, as a cardinal, felt a perſonal intereſt in the maintenance of its immunities, of what he called its *acquired rights*. The latter, though more of a philoſopher than his friend, as not being bound by the ſame duties or the ſame trammels, was nevertheleſs obliged to follow the inſtructions of his pious court. In concert they warded off ſeveral ſtrokes which the court of Naples aimed at the pontiff; and it was to their interpoſition alone that his vanity was indebted for a repetition of the homage of the palfrey in 1780. But at Naples the plan of reform was determined: the execution might indeed, in compliance with ſome temporary circumſtances, be poſtponed; ſome hopes might be encouraged; ſome relaxation

relaxation might take place on particular pretenſions; the hand was ſuſpended, but it ſtill continued armed.

CHAPTER XX.

New Wounds inflicted by the Court of Naples on the Privileges of the Court of Rome.

AT Naples the moſt alarming projects were in agitation. In 1781 there was queſtion of nothing leſs than aboliſhing all the regulations of the Roman chancellery —of ſending bodies of troops toward Benevento, and Ponte Corvo—and (if theſe menacing ſteps ſhould not be ſufficient to extort from the pope's obſtinacy a confirmation of the biſhops nominated by the king) of convoking a provincial council compoſed of all the prelates in the kingdom, and there making choice of three biſhops who ſhould be empowered to proclaim, in the pope's name, the nomination to the vacant ſees. The court of Spain again interfered to prevent the ſcandal which was about to be given to all the catholic part of Europe by a ſovereign who was accounted one of the moſt religious. Prince Cimitile was again ordered to return to Rome. There, without the participation of the cardinal ſecretary of ſtate whoſe intentions were ſuſpected, the Neapolitan miniſter negotiated with cardinals Giraud and Conti an agreement which for a time dried up the ſource of ſome diſputes.— This tranſitory reconciliation again procured for the pontiff,

tiff, in 1781, the ſo much conteſted enjoyment of the homage paid to the Holy See on the eve of the feſtival of Saint Peter. That compenſation conſoled him for the diminution which he ſaw effected in the kingdom of Naples of that prodigious ſwarm of monks, whoſe number, even to his eyes, appeared in the ſame diſadvantageous light as to thoſe of the Neapolitan reformers. There were found—will it be believed?—there were found ſixteen thouſand mendicant friars diſtributed in ſeven hundred convents. Pains were taken to reduce their number to two thouſand eight hundred and eight: the biſhops were directed to watch over their conduct, and to repreſs the ſcandalous exceſſes in which they indulged themſelves.

A pitiful diſpute on a point of etiquette ſoon after revived the dormant animoſities. Prince Cimitile was only a miniſter of the ſecond rank; and, as ſuch, he had, according to the cerémonial of the Roman court, no claim to the title of *Excellency*, which however is ſo ridicuouſly laviſhed in Italy: but he had a right to it, as a knight of the order of Saint Januarius. Nevertheleſs they had the meanneſs to refuſe it to him; adding at the ſame time that they would have made no difficulty of allowing it, if he had appeared at Rome un-veſted with a diplomatic character. Thus, becauſe he had the honour of repreſenting his ſovereign, he was as it were, degraded in the eyes of the papacy. Such abſurd inconſiſtency merited no other notice than that of contempt. But the Neapolitan court, equally puerile in their reſentment, were ſo piqued by it, that they reſumed the work of reform which they had ſuſpended. They ſequeſtrated ſeveral rich benefices; they ordained that for the time to come no perſon ſhould bequeath to churches, convents, or other eccleſiaſtic eſtabliſhments, any legacies in money or immovable property, becauſe, ſaid the royal ordinance, "all thoſe corporations are ſufficiently rich." What cool deliberate reaſon ought to have done, but had left undone, was the effect of a fit of anger.

No ſooner did the court of Rome at any time provoke the reſentment of the Neapolitan, than it deviſed ſome flattering ſcheme to appeaſe it. Thus in the preſent year, on the firſt application made by the queen, a German

man Ex-Jeſuit, father Gürtler, who was her ſpiritual director, obtained a rich benefice; and, in the warmth of his gratitude, father Gürtler exerted all his influence to effect a reconciliation between the two courts. The negotiations were re-commenced, and promiſed to be attended with a happy iſſue, conducted as they were by ſuch conciliating agents as the pope had employed on the occaſion—the cardinals Conti, Negroni, and Antonelli. The two former were attached to the rational principles of the catholic courts: Antonelli entertained high notions of the pretended rights of the Holy See; but he poſſeſſed learning, knowledge, and abilities, and had as great an aſcendency over Pius as any one could acquire. Accordingly the mediation of theſe three commiſſioners, and the marks of condeſcenſion ſhown by the pope to the ſovereigns of Naples, gave room to hope for ſome ſucceſs. The parties were beginning to come to a mutual good underſtanding within a few weeks after the commencement of the year 1782: the palfrey was again preſented in the month of June following, and with the uſual pomp. The pontiff diſſembled the pain that his ſenſibility received from ſeveral meaſures which the Neapolitan court ſtill continued to purſue. As they did not ſeem the offspring of a fit of ill humour, they appeared to him leſs grating; or he ſaw, that, as they were adopted with cool deliberation, they were the reſult of an irrevocable plan, and he did not chooſe to render his ſituation worſe by impotent attempts at oppoſition.

Accordingly his holineſs affected an appearance of reſignation on receiving the intelligence that one of the principal bulwarks of the papacy—the tribunal of the Holy Office—was falling to ruin in almoſt every part of Italy; that in Sicily, more particularly, the ſentence of abolition pronounced againſt it by a philoſophic viceroy, the marquis of Caraccioli, had excited, not the indignation of the people as might have been expected, but their enthuſiaſtic joy; that it was with difficulty they had been reſtrained from demoliſhing the former palace of the inquiſition; that the ſtatue of Saint Dominic, ſo appoſitely placed at the entrance of that den, had been broken to pieces by the enraged Sicilians; that all the papers of the Holy Office had been committed to the flames, all its property

property confiscated to the benefit of the crown, and the episcopal tribunals commissioned to take exclusive cognisance of those offences which until then had belonged to its jurisdiction.

At the same period the court of Naples inflicted other and still more painful wounds on the papacy. It declared that every religious order, whose general resided at Rome, should be released from all subjection to him: it forbade the members of those orders to receive from the court of Rome those irregular bulls which arbitrarily conferred on them ecclesiastic titles without the king's concurrence: it granted to the United Greeks, who were very numerous in Sicily, a bishop of their own sect, and exclusively nominated him. And it was only by the public voice of fame that Pius was appriſed of all these transactions!

During the course of these events the archbishop of Naples died without having obtained the cardinal's hat.—The petty triumph which this circumstance afforded, somewhat assuaged the mortifying sensations of the pontiff's breast. The king nominated to the vacant see the bishop of Calvi, a man of ducal family, monsignor Joseph Capece Zurlo. He hae been a member of the religious order of the Theatins—that order for which the Neapolitan court still retained a peculiar affection.—He at least, who was an intolerant and fanatical priest, could not appear objectionable in the eyes of the papacy.—Probably the king thought him only devout; and surely that could not prove a ground of exclusion for him any more than for the queen. Accordingly the pope had no excuse to plead in opposition to his election.

In electing him, nevertheless, the king had decided a question which the pope considered as yet undecided.—The pontiff, however, neither choosing to acknowledge the king's right, nor willing to sound the charge for a new contest, confirmed the new archbishop without expressing in his bull by whom he had been nominated. But this last effort quite exhausted his patience, which entirely failed him when the Neapolitan monarch elevated to the bishopric of Potenza a certain Andrea Serrao, the author of a tract which, according to the decision of the Holy See, breathed

breathed the ſpirit of Janſeniſm—that is to ſay, defended the rights of ſovereigns againſt the pretenſions of the court of Rome.

Pius with perſevering obſtinacy refuſed to proclaim his election. In vain Serrao repaired to Rome, requeſted a private audience of the pope, retracted in ſome meaſure the aſſertions which might have given him offence: Pius continued inflexible. The court of Naples was again exaſperated, and commanded Serrao to remain at Rome in the Neapolitan miniſter's hotel until he ſhould have overcome the oppoſition of the Roman chancellery But it was all to no purpoſe. The royal *fiſcal* being conſulted on this affair, purſuant to his advice the biſhop of Potenza was put in poſſeſſion of one third of the income of his ſee, that he might be enabled to act with due dignity his part of ſuitor at the court of Rome. This was treating the ſtubborn pontiff with great moderation: but, his obſtinacy was incurable: his beſt friends no longer recogniſed him as the ſame man that he had once been: they ſaw him, ſhunning their prudent counſels, reſign himſelf to the treacherous guidance of his obſcure theologiſts—of a Mammachi and a Zaccaria—inſtead of conſulting thoſe cardinals in whom he had at firſt appeared to place ſome confidence.

The year 1783 commenced under circumſtances of the moſt inauſpicious aſpect to him. Even Spain, that had hitherto been his principal ſupport againſt the hoſtilities of the court of Naples, now took part with that court in oppoſition to him. The Neapolitan miniſter, highly diſguſted with the perſonal mortifications which he had been obliged to endure, had quitted Rome. The chevalier Azara was commiſſioned to ſupply his place: and the pope was not benefited by the change. The Spaniſh miniſter ſpoke to him with a frankneſs which ought to have alarmed him. "It was time," he ſaid, "to put an end to "thoſe refuſals which in the beginning had been only "ridiculous, but which might ultimately terminate in "fatal conſequences. Why drive the Neapolitan "Court to extremities? Did it not poſſeſs various "means of wreaking its vengeance? could it not put "in execution a plan which it had already conceived— "that of cauſing the new biſhop of Potenza to be con- "firmed, according to the ancient diſcipline, by

" three biſhops of the country, and thus diſpenſing with " the interpoſition of the See of Rome? The repug- " nance, moreover, which that court felt to the perform- " ance of the annual homage, was well known: why " then furniſh it with an additional motive for complete- " ly emancipating itſelf from the obnoxious ceremony? " and did his holineſs wiſh to incur the ſelf-reproach of " having by his own miſmanagement forfeited a prerога- " tive ſo flattering to his vanity?"

Pius, however, was ſo obſtinate, and ſo ill adviſed, that even this laſt argument did not ſhake him in his purpoſe. He inſiſted that Serrao ſhould make recantation of his *dangerous* maxims in a particular formula which he himſelf would dictate to him. The court of Naples, wearied by theſe vain quibbles, ſent information to the pontiff, that, unleſs Serrao were proclaimed without delay or reſtriction, meaſures of extremity ſhould immediately be adopted, which his holineſs would have reaſon to regret. The criſis was now become more alarming than at any former period, and Pius began to be intimidated.

He felt the neceſſity of calling in the aid of counſellors ſomewhat more influential than thoſe to whom he had before given his confidence. He therefore intruſted the intereſts of the Holy See to the hands of cardinals Antonelli, Albani, Boſchi, Zelada, and Caſali. We have already made known the character of Antonelli. Albani was dean of the Sacred College, poſſeſſed ſome abilities and conſiderable influence, and was one of the partiſans of the defunct ſociety. Boſchi was a man endowed with information, prudence, a luminous underſtanding, and liable to no other imputation than that of a remaining attachment to the Jeſuits. We have more than once ſpoken of Zelada, who was acute, enlightened, but of an eſſentially mild and conciliating diſpoſition. Finally, Caſali was a creature of the Jeſuits, little inclined to toleration, rigidly inflexible, but of ſevere probity.

Such were the five counſellors entruſted with the critical negotiation. They conducted it with honeſty and dexterity, and ſucceeded in removing the chief obſtacle

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that ſtood in the way of its happy concluſion. The pope at length conſented to proclaim not only the biſhop of Potenza, but alſo twenty-one other prelates who had been nominated by the king. Much time had already been loſt in deciding whether a biſhop ſhould be proclaimed in this manner or in that: but the ſource of theologic ſubtilties was not yet exhauſted. Pius conſidered himſelf as having made a great effort, and expected to reap the reward of what he had done: in ſhort, he hoped to regain in few days all the ground that ſo numerous reforms and ſo many dangerous publications had cauſed him to loſe. Serrao had given ſcandal by his heterodox aſſertions: he muſt now give edification by a profeſſion of faith very authentic, very circumſtantial.—"But, will "it not be ſufficient," aſked the good biſhop of Potenza, "if I exculpate myſelf from the imputations brought "againſt me, and acknowledge the pope as the ſu- "preme head, and centre of unity, of the catholic "church?"—This was not enough to ſatisfy Pius, who liked to enter into particulars. He inſiſted that Serrao ſhould give verbal anſwers to eleven queſtions which he propoſed to him, and of which almoſt every one afforded proof that his holineſs was very imperfectly acquainted with the ſpirit of the times. Benedict XIV., even Ganganelli himſelf, would have kept them confined within the privacy of their own boſoms, becauſe they were ſenſible that there are certain delicate chords which will not bear to be touched. The following are ſome of thoſe queſtions: and from them the world may judge of the degree of intellectual illumination poſſeſſed by the wiſeſt members of the Sacred College.

"Do you feel a ſincere veneration for the Holy See? "Do you acknowledge in the pope an entire and *unlimited* "authority over every thing connected with the mainte- "nance of religion and eccleſiaſtic diſcipline?

"Have you never attempted to infringe the bull *Uni-* "*genitus?*

"Do you think that the Italian catechiſm, attri- "buted to Monſieur de Fleury, ſtands in need of cor- "rection?

"Do you approve of the religious ſocieties confirmed

" by the Holy See ? and do you think, that, while they " punctually follow the rules of their reſpective inſtitu- " tions, they may be uſeful to the church ?

" Have you ever diſapproved of the poſſeſſion of " church property when it is duly adminiſtered ?

" Do you intend to ſubmit your public conduct to the " inſpection and judgment of the Holy See ?"

Was it poſſible that Pius could have flattered himſelf with a hope that theſe queſtions ſhould meet the approbation of the Neapolitan court, on whoſe meaſures they paſſed an indirect cenſure ? The event proves, that, on this as on many other occaſions, he had been deficient in foreſight. The king's miniſters and theologiſts being conſulted, unanimouſly declared in anſwer that the pope's ſummons was an innovation, and even an inſult to the king, as likewiſe to the biſhop, who had never afforded any room for affixing on him a ſuſpicion of hereſy ; that the queſtions themſelves confounded the limits of the two powers, and infringed the rights of the temporal ſovereignty. The Neapolitan Miniſter received order to repreſent the matter in this light to the pope, and to inform him that if he would not be ſatisfied with the declaration offered by the biſhop of Potenza, his Majeſty would recall him from his embaſſadorial miſſion, and adopt other meaſures in that common cauſe which equally intereſted all the catholic governments. At the ſame time an injunction was laid on the biſhop of even adding to his declaration that it was not to be otherwiſe underſtood than in a ſenſe conformable to the rights of ſovereignty and the conſtitutional laws of the Two Sicilies.

Thus, inſtead of a triumph from that miſtaken meaſure, Pius reaped a refuſal, mortifications, and new menaces.— Too late he perceived that it was again neceſſary to yield —and the cardinals, on being conſulted, adviſed him to make a virtue of the neceſſity. Zelada, uniformly conſiſtent in his conciliatory diſpoſition, moſt of all contributed to determine the pontiff's compliance. On thoſe terms the ridiculous ceremony of the palfrey was again performed that year.

In the year following, the Neapolitan court proceeded in the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries, and the reformation of ſome of thoſe numerous abuſes which are ever the unfail-

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ing fruits of ſacerdotal influence. In its conduct was diſcernible a mixture of philoſophy, of religious veneration for ſome objects which it thought reſpectable, of tenderneſs for others which the people would not tamely have ſuffered to be wreſted from them, and which even the ſovereign authority itſelf was intereſted in ſupporting. Hence thoſe half-meaſures, which prove either a want of capacity to embrace a plan in its whole extent, or a want of ſtrength and courage to carry it into execution. Too little was done toward enlightening the people; enough, to afflict the court of Rome. The king prohibited all future application to it for diſpenſations: he aſſerted his right of advowſon over all the churches in his dominions: nothing more was left to the pope than the privilege of conſecrating and giving his benediction to prelates, and convoking councils. To the king was reſerved the care of preſiding at elections, protecting the clergy, and diſpoſing of the ſurplus of all church revenues for the benefit of the poor: to the biſhops was given the faculty of granting matrimonial diſpenſations in all degrees of conſanguinity, and of exerciſing over all the religious orders a juriſdiction uncontroled by concurrence or appeal.

The pope, thoroughly convinced of his own impotence, thought himſelf ſtill happy that even his interpoſition was in any caſe deſired. The king of Naples wiſhing to relieve the diſtreſſes in which the unfortunate inhabitants of Apulia and Calabria had recently been involved—pious foundations, devotional legacies, the exceſs of the clerical revenues, were naturally marked out for thoſe offices of humanity, or, if you pleaſe, of Chriſtian charity. The roman pontiff, whoſe conſent might have been deemed altogether ſuperfluous, was invited to give his ſanction to thoſe meaſures. With prompt alacrity he acquieſced in the wiſhes of the Neapolitan court, and even ſtretched his condeſcenſion ſo far as to permit that all the clergy in the kingdom ſhould for the ſame benevolent purpoſe be ſubjected to a tax in proportion to their abilities. It might have been aſked on which ſide the condeſcenſion really exiſted—in the monarch who ſolicited ſuch permiſſions, or in the pope who granted them? But, what will perhaps appear yet more aſtoniſhing, the

Neapolitan

Neapolitan clergy ſhowed themſelves leſs tractable than the head of the church himſelf appeared. Conſcious of the ſtrength he derived from this concurrence of the ſpiritual with the temporal authority, the king conceived that he might without ſcruple or danger ſuppreſs a great number of convents in Calabria. The prieſts had the boldneſs to oppoſe the ſuppreſſion, and grounded their diſobedience on the famous bull *In cœnâ Domini*, which, among other political hereſies, contains this principle, that "whoever does not reſpect the inviolability of the property of the clergy, is ſtricken with anathema."—The Court of Rome were ſtrongly ſuſpected of a ſecret agency in that reſiſtance: but the king had their overt conſent; and, availing himſelf of that advantage, he ordained that all thoſe who, in oppoſition to his edicts, ſhould appeal to that bull which was ſo juſtly proſcribed, ſhould be deprived of their temporal property and treated as foreigners, and that whoever ſhould print and publiſh it, ſhould be puniſhed as guilty of a crime againſt the ſtate.

This meaſure was not a little bold for an Italian ſovereign, and eſpecially for a prince of religious character. Ferdinand nevertheleſs proceeded yet farther. Of a hundred and thirty-nine biſhoprics in the monarchy of the Two Sicilies, only twenty-ſix were acknowledged to be of royal advowſon: all the others had till this time been ſubject to the pope's nomination. Suddenly the king of Naples, encouraged by the example of his brother-in-law, revived his claim to the right of indiſcriminately nominating to all the epiſcopal ſees in his dominions. The influence of the court of Madrid, which had for ſome time repreſſed that pretenſion, was beginning to loſe its former weight: the Neapolitan monarch, as he advanced in age, was grown weary of continuing ſubject to the control of Charles III., his father: the queen alſo was very impatient of that yoke; and the chevalier Acton, who already enjoyed conſiderable authority, encouraged the royal pair in their reſiſtance. There even exiſted a very violent animoſity between that miniſter and the count de Florida-Blanca; and, as they governed their reſpective courts with almoſt deſpotic ſway, a coolneſs had taken place between the Spaniſh and Neapolitan ſovereigns,

vereigns, which was each moment liable to degenerate into an open quarrel.

While affairs were thus circumſtanced, the cardinal de Bernis, in May 1784. paid a viſit to Naples. The queen repoſed, or at leaſt affected to repoſe, equal confidence in his intellects and his intentions. Bernis, by his frankneſs and conciliating dexterity, ſucceeded in accompliſhing a partial reconciliation, which however was ſoon followed by more violent ſtorms:—but theſe do not properly belong to our ſubject.

During a fortnight that Bernis ſpent at the court of Naples, he had occaſion to plead the cauſe of the papacy; and he performed the taſk with that inſinuating addreſs which was ſo natural to him, and which did not appear to fail in its effect on the queen of Naples, though herſelf ſo eminently ſkilled in that kind of ſeduction. He ſpoke however in the language of an eccleſiaſtic prince, which, notwithſtanding all his philoſophy, he underſtood as well as any of his brethren. The Holy See, he obſerved, had already gratified the Neapolitan court with numerous ſacrifices: if the latter required further conceſſions of that kind, it muſt expect to meet with conſiderable repugnance. A ſhort time before Bernis' arrival, a fit of peeviſhneſs had produced the effect of breaking off a negotiation which had been commenced reſpecting the principal grounds of the diſpute: for peeviſhneſs had great influence in all the determinations of that unſteady and capricious court. Bernis, however, ſucceeded not only in removing all the prejudices which ſtood in the way of pacification, but alſo in gaining attention to what he had to propoſe. He obtained, that, at the approaching feſtival of the holy apoſtles, the pontifical vanity ſhould again be feaſted with the homage of the palfrey: he extorted ſome vague promiſes, and carried back to Rome ſome hopes which the pope participated, but which were ſoon diſappointed.

No long time elapſed before the pontiff learned that an almoſt unlimited uſe was made of the bull by which he had authoriſed the ſuppreſſion of ſome monaſteries, and the incorporation of others into one. That meaſure had been purſued to ſuch lengths, that it had, in the language of the Roman court, degenerated into a perfect ſyſtem of *robbery*. The nuns of the ſuppreſſed convents had renounced

nounced the rules of their order, and, releaſed from the confinement of the cloiſter, exhibited to the world the *ſcandalous* ſpectacle of a ſecular life. Some good ſouls had ſent to Naples a ſum of money deſtined for the canoniſation of I know not what female ſaint. That ſum was diverted from its *ſacred* deſtination, and applied to the purchaſe of corn. Could ſuch a ſacrilege be pardoned? And it was at the ſame epoch that the Neapolitan monarch, to fill up the meaſure, renewed his pretenſions to the right of nominating to all the biſhoprics in his dominions.

The pope thought it again neceſſary to have recourſe to the court of Spain: he firſt applied to its miniſter, Azara, and gave him unlimited powers to terminate the diſputes between the papacy and the king of Naples. The Spaniſh miniſter determined to prove that his holineſs's confidence was not in this inſtance miſplaced. The chevalier Acton at the very commencement of the buſineſs ſhowed himſelf ſufficiently diſpoſed to labour at an accommodation. Strong prepoſſeſſions were entertained againſt him as well at Madrid as at Verſailles: he wiſhed to evince by his conduct that he was not ſo averſe to conciliation as he was accuſed of being; and from theſe favourable ſymptoms the court of Rome conceived ſome hopes. It was moreover ſupported by the marquis della Sambucca, who forgetting his private cauſes of complaint againſt the pope, remembered that he was indebted for his promotion to the ſolicitations of that court and the intrigues of the Jeſuits.

But the joy of Pius was ever deſtined to be of ſhort duration. Scarcely had he begun to reſume ſome confidence when he learned that meaſures were continued in Calabria to an extent far exceeding his intentions; that the churches and other eccleſiaſtic foundations which had ſurvived the diſaſters of that province, were ſeculariſed, and that the property which had belonged to them was applied by the king of Naples to eſtabliſhments of public utility. If Pius had entertained ſounder notions of policy, if his charity had been greater than his devotion and his ſelfiſhneſs, he would have applauded theſe changes: but, viewing them in no other light than as additional infringements of his rights and of the immunities

of

of the church, he felt them as ſo many deep wounds inflicted on his boſom. His comforter Azara adviſed him to have direct recourſe to the interpoſition of the king of Spain. Charles III. accordingly interpoſed at Naples through the medium of the marquis della Sambucca, in whom he careſſed the rival and the enemy of the chevalier Acton.

It was cuſtomary with Pius to go every year, in the ſpring ſeaſon, perſonally to viſit the works at the Pontine marſhes, and to ſpend a few days at Terracina near the frontier of the kingdom of Naples. It was a relaxation, a diverſion from his chagrins, a feaſt to his ſelf-love. La Sambucca cauſed a propoſal to be made to him that he ſhould take advantage of that journey, to treat in perſon reſpecting the affairs on which the two courts were yet divided. For that purpoſe la Sambucca was to repair to Terracina: but previouſly to the interview, he wiſhed that ſome principal points ſhould be ſettled, eſpecially that ſome accommodatory medium ſhould be adopted reſpecting the nomination to biſhoprics; that the pope ſhould acknowledge the king's right to it, with ſome modifications. Pius liſtened to theſe propoſitions, and, through the organ of the chevalier Azara, ſaid that he would be found "very reaſonable:" but he repreſented that the points on which his conceſſion was required antecedently to all negotiation, were preciſely thoſe which were to be diſcuſſed. La Sambucca inſiſted on their preliminary admiſſion, and confidentially intimated to the Spaniſh miniſter, that, if his holineſs ſet out without having given a previous aſſurance to that effect, he would only expoſe himſelf to a failure in the object of the interview, and prepare a triumph for his enemy Acton, whoſe apparent good will to the court of Rome had been but tranſitory. "No!" replied Pius to the Spaniſh miniſter, "I can-
"not conſent to an abſolute and unlimited nomination:
"the wound would be too ſurely mortal. But why
"might not the king conſent to a modification? why not
"allow me the faculty of chooſing one of three candidates
"whom he ſhould propoſe to me?"

The chevalier Azara was not a little aſtoniſhed to obſerve the perſevering uniformity with which he was particularly ſingled out as the interpreter on theſe occaſions—

he,

he, who had been ſo ſeverely calumniated at Naples, who had been repreſented to the king and queen as a ſtern intractable man, and a fomenter of diſcord between them and the Spaniſh monarch. But he was candid and honeſt: he felt an attachment to the pope; and, although in his own mind he could juſtly appreciate the pontiff's pretenſions, he aided him to the utmoſt of his power at the court of Naples. He aſſured the royal pair that he perſiſted in the diſpoſition to ſerve them with zeal, but at the ſame time repreſented to them that they muſt not expect to gain at the firſt onſet the very object which was the ground of the conteſt. La Sambucca was inflexible. "If the articles on which I inſiſt," ſaid he, "be not de-"termined, I will not go to Terracina." The indignation of the pope was rouſed by this obſtinacy: but reflection, aided by the counſelsof the chevalier Azara, calmed his paſſion; and he pledged his word that he would conſent, provided ſuch a complexion were given to the buſineſs as ſhould at leaſt ſave his honour. It appears that la Sambucca was not ſatisfied with theſe vague aſſurances: for, though Pius ſet out for Terracina on the 9th of May (1785), the propoſed interview did not take place.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXI.

Mortifications received by PIUS *from the Court of Naples.— Abolition of the Homage of the Palfrey.*

TOWARD the ſame period Pius experienced from the Neapolitan ſovereigns a mortification which he ſenſibly felt. On the 30th of April they embarked for Legorn, whence they proceeded to the northern parts of Italy, openly affecting to avoid paſſing near the ſovereign pontiff. Conſidering the footing on which they then ſtood with him, an interview would have been embarraſſing; and they were not ſorry to give him that indirect proof of their diſſatisfaction. They were accompanied by the grand-duke of Tuſcany, and met the emperor at Parma. The only town of the papal territory in which they ſtopped was Bologna, where the legate, cardinal Buoncompagni who afterward became ſecretary of ſtate, received them with that nobleneſs of manner which was his characteriſtic feature. They were ſenſibly pleaſed with his reception, viſited the curioſities of the town, behaved with the moſt winning politeneſs; but not a word was ſaid concerning their diſputes with the Holy See. Pius was tempted to ſend his nephew to them at Piſa, to invite them to paſs through Rome on their return. But it was inſinuated to him that ſuch a ſtep would only be a gratuitous and unavailing derogation from his dignity. The Neapolitan ſovereigns returned to their own dominions without affording him any token of their remembrance.

After their return they gave him new diſquietudes. They received fourteen cheſts filled with the plate of the ſuppreſſed churches, which they ſent to the mint: they treated

treated canonries as dignities of a purely temporal nature, and diſpoſed of them without the concurrence of the papacy: they ſupported the religious orders in their independence of their generals reſiding at Rome. After ſuch meaſures, there remained, in the opinion of the pontiff, but one more ſtep to hereſy, or at leaſt to ſchiſm.

During theſe tranſactions cardinal Pallavicini died; and the choice of a ſucceſſor to replace him was attended with embarraſſment. The mind of Pius, as we ſhall preſently ſee, was prepoſſeſſed againſt cardinal Buoncompagni: but he ſacrificed his repugnance to various conſiderations, eſpecially to the hope that, as the cardinal was agreeable to the court of Naples, he might there render ſervice to the Holy See. Accordingly one of the firſt ſteps of the new ſecretary of ſtate was to repair to Naples: but, inſtead of exhibiting himſelf to advantage in an amiable and winning character which he was very capable of aſſuming, he appeared in no other than that of the cardinal and the miniſter. He returned from his fruitleſs miſſion, leaving in his ſtead a Milaneſe prelate, who, more ſeriouſly employed in political affairs than in religious diſcuſſions, ſucceeded in determining the boundaries of the two ſtates between Abruzzo and Umbria. But the eccleſiaſtic diſputes were becoming more and more embittered: in this ſame year the king further prohibited his ſubjects to receive any indulgences from Rome without his ſanction. Our grand children will ſmile when informed that even ſo late as the year 1785 it required an exertion of courage in a ſovereign to ſubject a tribute of that kind to the control of his authority.

The ſituation of the pontiff, with reſpect to Naples, became yet worſe at the commencement of the year 1786. La Sambucca, his only remaining ſupport, was at length obliged to yield in the ſtruggle againſt the chevalier Acton. The intereſts of the papacy thenceforward depended on the marquis del Marco, miniſter of juſtice and of eccleſiaſtic affairs. Formed in the ſchool of Tanucci, and a devoted creature of the chevalier Acton, he had, in addition to his natural duplicity of character, no other talents to recommend him than a blind ſubmiſſion to the will of that chief miniſter, and to the court of Rome a great ſtock of malevolence which he miſtook for philoſophy.

philoſophy. An antagoniſt much more formidable—becauſe he was really a philoſopher, and had during his Sicilian viceroyalty exhibited proofs of his boldly reforming ſpirit—was the marquis Caraccioli, who ſucceeded la Sambucca in the department of foreign affairs. The Jeſuits and other confidential friends of the pontiff trembled at this revolution; nor was it long ere their apprehenſions were realiſed. The ducheſs de Maddaloni was at this time engaged in a ſuit to obtain a divorce from her huſband: ſhe gained her cauſe before the conſiſtory of Naples: the duke appealed from the ſentence; and the king referred the matter to a commiſſion. The nuncio attempted to interpoſe the ſpiritual authority of the head of the church, becauſe there was queſtion of a ſacrament: but he was over-ruled, and informed that marriage, inaſmuch as it is a contract, muſt ever lie within the juriſdiction of the temporal power. A ſtronger or more explicit deciſion could not have been expected from a proteſtant court.

The fate of the religious orders, which yet remained undecided, was definitively determined by an ordinance in which the king was made to ſpeak with a boldneſs of language at which himſelf muſt have been aſtoniſhed. It ſet forth that his majeſty, after mature examination, was thoroughly convinced that the ſubjection of the religious ſocieties to generals reſiding out of his dominions was "an abuſe, a violation of the rights of the biſhops, "the offſpring of thoſe ages of darkneſs and ſpiritual "calamity, of thoſe falſe decretals forged by an impoſtor "who had ſuffered himſelf to be led aſtray by his blind "affection for the court of Rome."

This meaſure, and eſpecially its motives, proved a thunder-ſtroke to the Holy See and its adherents. Theologiſts are conſulted: the generals of the religious orders aſſemble in the pope's palace, and draw up a proteſt in oppoſition to the *raſh* ordinance of the Neapolitan monarch. Unavailing clamours! The mal-contents could not on this occaſion expect to receive ſupport from the court of Spain: that court had itſelf been for ſome years meditating a ſimilar reform.

The court of Rome, however, found in the new Neapolitan miniſter a greater propenſity to conciliation than

than they had at firſt expected. The marquis Caraccioli and the cardinal Buoncampagni entertained for each other a reciprocal eſteem. Both prudent and enlightened men, ſuperior, each in his reſpective country, to the ſurrounding crowd of their contemporaries, they would perhaps have been of the ſame opinion if they had been placed in the ſame ſphere of life. They mutually ſought each other's acquaintance. Caraccioli broached a direct correſpondence with the cardinal, for the purpoſe of amicably terminating the differences which kept their courts at variance. After they had begun to underſtand each other a little, the pope ſent count Galeppi to Naples without any oſtenſible commiſſion, but ſimply to hear whatever the Neapolitan government might be diſpoſed to ſay to him: for the Roman court were not dazzled by thoſe advances; and it was with good reaſon that they were not. At the moment when a reconciliation ſeemed approaching, the tribunal of Santa Clara pronounced that three of the biſhoprics which were the ſubjects of the conteſt, being of royal advowſon, ought to be ſubject to the king's nomination. The archbiſhop of Naples whoſe exemplary virtues were alloyed by a fanatic zeal for the court of Rome, the entire Sacred College, and the pontiff himſelf, loudly exclaimed againſt the deciſion; and there was queſtion of proceeding to violent meaſures. But the prudent friends of Pius calmed his mind, and he checked his reſentment leſt he ſhould cauſe a miſcarriage of the negociation which was about to be commenced.

It began under happy auſpices. Galeppi was highly pleaſed with the queen's diſpoſition. Dextrous, inſinuating, ſucceſsfully adopting every tone and eſpecially that of confidence, ſhe enchanted the incipient negotiator. He had imagined that Caraccioli's influence was to be his principal, his only reſource: yet he found the queen even more conciliating than the miniſter. But while he ſuffered himſelf to be dazzled by theſe appearances, a ſequeſtration was laid on the very abbey which cardinal Buoncompagni poſſeſſed in the kingdom of Naples, and part of its revenues appropriated to uſeful eſtabliſhments: a laudable reform, without doubt, though the time and the object were ill choſen. Was this ſtep the effect of duplicity?

duplicity? or did it proceed merely from the want of reflection? These are queſtions not eaſily to be anſwered even by thoſe who have had the cloſeſt and moſt frequent acceſs to the queen of Naples. That procedure, liable at leaſt to the charge of incivility, was yet quite recent when the queen, perhaps moved by compaſſion, wrote with her own hand to cardinal Buoncompagni, that notwithſtanding *appearances*, the king was deſirous of an accommodation with his holineſs. Soon after, ſome efforts were made to diſplay a conduct conſiſtent with this aſſurance: recommendation was given to obſerve a degree of tenderneſs toward the court of Rome, at leaſt in point of form; and the tribunals were directed to ſhew ſome regard for the religious orders.

At length Galeppi ſucceeded in removing a firſt difficulty. In September 1786, it was agreed that the king ſhould thenceforward nominate to all the biſhoprics in his dominions; that the pope ſhould be empowered to diſpoſe of ſixty thouſand ducats of church-revenues, in favour of Neapolitan ſubjects, and of ſix thouſand toward the ſupport of his nuncio at Naples. Galeppi would have wiſhed to obtain further ſucceſſes, and eſpecially to effect a ſuſpenſion of the ſuppreſſion of monaſteries: but his efforts were of no avail. Perhaps, however, they might not have been unſucceſsful if he had choſen to leave the buſineſs entirely in the hands of the marquis Caraccioli, who, to the great aſtoniſhment of the world, was become at his court the principal advocate of the papacy—he who, both in England and in France, had ſo often indulged his wit at the expenſe of religion—who had ſo ſlightingly treated its miniſters in Sicily—who had more than once been heard to ſay at Paris, "If ever I become "miniſter to the king of Naples, I'll find means to render him independent of the grand mufti of Rome." But Galeppi wiſhed to multiply his means: a hundred agents were employed in the buſineſs of his negotiation: it failed, and he returned to Rome in April 1787, carrying with him a plan of accommodation which the apoſtolic chancellery refuſed to admit.

Inſtead of being aſtoniſhed at the condeſcenſion of a court of which the two moſt influential men diſplayed a boldneſs of principal ſo alarming to the cauſe of orthodoxy

—inſtead

—inſtead of appearing grateful for it—Pius aſſerted that he had done every thing in his power to ſatisfy the king of Naples, and that it would not be his fault if an accommodation ſhould not take place. It was particularly to the French and Spaniſh miniſters that he held this language, hoping that their courts would interpoſe in his favour. But, at Madrid as well as at Verſailles, people were tired of thoſe inceſſantly reviving diſputes, of thoſe alternations of ſtubbornneſs and complaiſance, of reaſon and extravagance. Pius therefore ſaw himſelf abandoned to his own reſources, and called in the aid of his favourite remedy: Buoncompagni was directed to compoſe a long memorial, in which he endeavoured to prove the legitimacy of the pontiff's pretenſions, and eſpecially the *inviolable juriſdiction* of his nuncio at Naples. A prelate was appointed to convey this memorial to Galeppi, who had returned to his poſt; but by the king's order it was coolly and briefly anſwered that the pope's pretenſions were inadmiſſible, and that it was no longer poſſible to think of an accommodation.

For a long time back every thing had been done at Naples in fits of peeviſhneſs. In all the operations of the government it was eaſy to diſcover the influence of a woman, who alternately vibrated between benevolence and animoſity, and followed at one time the temperate counſels of Caraccioli, at another the violent ſuggeſtions of Acton, but oftener the impulſes of her own caprice.

After ſuch a repulſive anſwer, could any man have expected to ſee the negotiations once more renewed before the concluſion of the year? Pius, it is true, made the firſt advances, and came forward with more moderate pretenſions. Caraccioli ſignified, that, ſince the pope ſhewed himſelf more reaſonable, it became eaſy to effect a reconciliation, which the king himſelf was extremely deſirous; but that it was neceſſary to lay aſide all thoſe little wiles, all thoſe ſubtilities, which had cauſed the preceding negotiations to miſcarry.

The cardinal ſecretary of ſtate thought himſelf the perſon moſt capable of realiſing the new hopes which the pontiff was beginning to entertain; and with that idea he repaired to Naples in the month of October. A ſuſpicion prevailed that a zeal for the intereſts of the pa-

pacy

pacy was not his real motive for undertaking that journey. Gorani, in his Secret Memoirs of the Courts of Italy, asserts that he was principally attracted to Naples by his desire of revisiting a woman with whom he had been very intimately acquainted at Bologna; and the libertine conduct of the cardinal gives credibility to the assertion. He probably accomplished the object in which his heart was concerned; but he failed in that which would have flattered his vanity. He was extremely pleasing in his manner: he was well received; and he proposed a plan of conciliation in which the pope made some new sacrifices: but they were not deemed sufficient.

Gorani relates that Buoncompagni, fully persuaded that he should find the king more accommodating than his ministers, requested of him a private audience, at which, after having with his insinuating eloquence urged to him his apostolic arguments, he thus concluded his harangue—"Your majesty may rest assured, that "your condescension to the Holy See is the only mean "of avoiding a multitude of unpleasant circumstances, "and of acquiring in all events a faithful and steady "friend."—"Cardinal," replied the king—"I have "listened to you as long as you thought proper: do you "now listen to me in turn. I was not afraid to displease the king of Spain my father when I felt it my "duty to defend the rights of my crown. Can you "then imagine that I shall entertain any fear in defending them against the pretensions and subtilities of "your sovereign? No! nothing can prevail on me to "consent to the demands of Pius VI. because I deem "them unjust."

We think ourselves authorised to question the authenticity of this dialogue, as bearing too little conformity to the characters of the speakers. The cardinal's friends have never had any knowledge of it: and besides, if he had carried home from Naples so explicit a declaration, how could the pontiff, immediately after Buoncompagni's mission, have indulged in that security which the best-informed observers remarked in him? However that point be determined, the cardinal returned to Rome without having made any progress in the bu-

 sines,

ſineſs; and the year 1787 concluded amid cold demonſtrations of mutual good underſtanding.

And now commenced that year which was to inflict on the pope the moſt painful of all mortifications that it was poſſible for him to experience. The month of June was far advanced, and no meaſures had yet been taken for the ſolemn preſentation of the palfrey. No new cauſe of complaint had ariſen on either ſide: how then account for the delay? for his holineſs could not even for a moment admit the idea of a total omiſſion of the accuſtomed homage. Saint Peter's eve at length arrived: the conſtable Colonna, the hero of the ceremony, has not yet made his appearance: but "the annual tribute at leaſt will be ſent."—The annual tribute is equally inviſible.

Pius was deeply affected: he would have wiſhed to avoid expoſing himſelf to ridicule by the utterance of impotent complaints: but he dreaded the burſt of univerſal indignation. The fatal hour is come: he aſcends his throne—with mournful countenance ſurveys the ſurrounding aſſembly of cardinals, and an immenſe auditory who participate his dejection—pronounces a diſcourſe, which he endeavours to render impreſſive by pathos of tone, and in which he accumulates arguments that to him appear unanſwerable. He reminds his audience that he has "done every thing to conduct the "negotiations to a happy concluſion: he has written con"ciliatory letters; but the king of Naples has not an"ſwered them; and, without any previous notice, he "now offers him the affront of ſuddenly diſcontinuing "a homage which he had conſtantly paid him ſince "his acceſſion to the throne—a homage guarantied by "the expreſs promiſe of his father Charles III.—a ho"mage enforced by ſeveral bulls, and, among others, "by that of Julius II. which denounces the threat of "eccleſiaſtical cenſures againſt the king who ſhould "omit it." He quotes thoſe bulls, repeats the paſſages from them, not now in that thundering voice which he was fond enough of aſſuming in the midſt of his court on ſtate occaſions, but in that melancholy and almoſt ſuppliant tone which is employed to move an incenſed conqueror.

The

The few moderate men who heard him were ſtruck with admiration on obſerving how ſucceſsfully he had been able to reſtrain or at leaſt to ſoften the expreſſion of his chagrin; while the crowd of fanatics beſtowed on his forbearance the name of baſe puſillanimity. But when, at a diſtance from the ſcene of action, we repreſent to ourſelves an old man, a ſovereign, ſighing through vexation becauſe a horſe has failed to come and pay him his periodical obeiſance, we no longer participate either the admiration of the one party or the indignation of the other, but look down with pity on the weakneſs and vanity of frail mortals.

In the evening of that ſiniſter day, at the moment when the Neapolitan ambaſſador ſhould have preſented himſelf, the *fiſcal* of the Apoſtolic Chamber gravely made his proteſt reſpecting the delay of the accuſtomary homage. The pope admitted the proteſt, and thought he thereby ſaved his honour and his rights. He next wrote to the king of Naples a letter in circumſpect language, but in a pathetic ſtrain, which however had loſt all its force on thoſe to whom it was now addreſſed. He communicated his production to the Spaniſh miniſter, who greatly applauded the form he had given to it. The chevalier Azara and the cardinal de Bernis ſtill continued to be his confidants and comforters; though, to avoid involving them in difficulties, he had ceaſed to apply to them for advice. The two ſage miniſters, who were witneſſes of his affliction, were very capable of appreciating its object, but could not forbear giving him teſtimonies of their ſympathy.

On the ſeventh of the following July, Ricciardelli the Neapolitan *chargé-des-affaires*, came to preſent tocardinal Buoncompagni the twelve thouſand Roman crowns which his court once more condeſcended to pay as a tribute. "The principal circumſtance of that homage is its ſo-"lemnity," replied the cardinal, rejecting the proffered ſum. After the expiration of a fortnight, Ricciardelli delivered to him a memorial ſetting forth, that —the pope having refuſed to receive the twelve thouſand Roman crowns—the king his maſter, deſirous, as in preceding years, to make a pious offering to the apoſtles Peter and Paul, had ordered him to depoſit it in

a public bank where it ſhould await the diſpoſal of the Apoſtolic Chamber. The cardinal conceived he was ſupporting the dignity of the papacy by replying in another memorial that the *pious offering*, without the palfrey did not fulfil the engagements contracted by the king of Naples and his predeceſſors to the Holy See; that, in conſequence, the *fiſcal* of the Apoſtolic Chamber had made a ſecond proteſt, and that the bank in which the ſum was depoſited had received directions to hold it at ſignor Ricciardelli's diſpoſal. The latter ſent back the memorial, the proteſt, &c. becauſe he could not receive them without an order from his court.

This conteſt of empty formalities did not however terminate the diſpute. The king of Naples ſtooped to pick up the gantlet which the cardinal had flung down before him. He anſwered his memorial at great length, and in the ſtyle of a lawyer: he intimated that the differences might have been terminated if Galeppi had employed leſs of ſubtility and more of ſincerity in his negotiations, and if cardinal Buoncompagni had been authoriſed to conclude definitively: he did not refuſe the cuſtomary oblation; but he thought the pomp of the ceremony at leaſt unneceſſary, ſince it was not expreſſed in the act of inveſtiture: that act itſelf was ſuperfluous, ſince the Neapolitan monarchs poſſeſſed their kingdom by the right of conqueſt, and its enfeofment was a uſurpation, which could only be borne in ages of ignorance and barbariſm.

Never before had any catholic prince ſpoken in ſo bold language to the court of Rome, whoſe aſtoniſhment was now almoſt equal to their affliction. Cardinal Borgia, ſecretary of the Propaganda and a learned theologiſt, was appointed to reply to it. But what arguments could he advance in oppoſition to force combined with reaſon? Quotations, the authority of fathers of the church and of the councils, ancient *Concordata*, recent regulations! In this memorial, which was alternately learned and pathetic, the pontiff enumerated all the ſteps he had already taken to effect a reconciliation with the court of Naples: but he could not, he ſaid, without rendering himſelf contemptible, ſuffer a cruel wound to be inflicted on the authority of the Holy See.

The

The Neapolitan ſoverein condeſcended to reply to this erudite homily. He was obliged to pay ſome deference to the prejudices of his ſubjects as well as to ſatisfy his own ſcruples. He was willing, as the French monarchs had often done before, to kiſs the pontiff's toe, and at the ſame time to bind his hands in chains. He aſſumed a tone of frankneſs and candor, which probably was intended as mockery by thoſe who dictated his reply, though from his mouth it was ſincere. In mild and almoſt humble terms he repreſented that he conſidered the pecuniary tribute as fulfilling the whole of his duty to the Apoſtolic See; that the pomp of the ceremony was not matter of obligation; that the preſentation of the palfrey was a cuſtom which could not be traced farther back than the preceding century. The truth was, that no expreſs mention of that ridiculous formality had been made in the act of inveſtiture given to the preſent ſovereign, though it had been mentioned in that granted to the king his father, who guarantied it for himſelf and *his ſucceſſors*.

It was ſerving the court of Rome according to their taſte, to engage with them in a polemic diſcuſſion. Pius and his ſecretary of ſtate, who were ſeldom in uniſon, differed in opinion reſpecting the proper form to be given to the anſwer which the king of Naples expected. The pontiff wiſhed to ſwell it out to a voluminous memorial, under the perſuaſion that arguments derive additional ſtrength from their bulk. Meanwhile, to fill up the time that muſt elapſe before the quarrel were decided, the Neapolitan government perſevered in the purſuit of its plan, gave orders for the ſequeſtration of all the abbeys and ſimple benefices, aſſumed the right of nominating to them all, and burſt the laſt remaining ties by which the religious ſocieties were yet bound to their generals.

The Holy See ſuſpended its labours, and tried, if poſſible, to ſtop the court of Naples in its too rapid career. —About this period, an incident of a private nature gave birth to new diſputes. The archbiſhop of Naples had diſſolved the marriage of the ducheſs di Mattalona*, and, without

* In page 45 ſhe is deſignated by the name of *Maddaloni*.

without the concurrence of the Holy See, had given her a certificate declaring her at liberty to marry again. A biſhop of Motula had afterward taken up that cauſe. This, according to Pius, was a violation of all the rules of eccleſiaſtic diſcipline: wherefore, to apply a ſpeedy remedy to theſe diſorders, he drew up two briefs, the one for the ducheſs, the other for the biſhop, and directed his internuncio to deliver them to the parties. The ducheſs refuſed to receive that which was addreſſed to her, and refuſed in ſuch a tone as forbade all attempt to inſiſt on the point. The internuncio was diſconcerted, and ſaid within himſelf, "Let us act more adroitly with the biſhop: let us lay for him an ambuſcade from which he cannot eſcape without cauſing open ſcandal." Accordingly he took him unaware, and, with his brief in his hand, attempted to offer him a ſort of violence. The biſhop of Motula was a man of rough manner: he rudely thruſt back the emiſſary, and even made uſe of language diſreſpectful to the Holy See. The poor internuncio had ſtill leſs reaſon to boaſt of the ſucceſs of his ſecond attempt, which, though unſucceſsful, irritated the court of Naples, from whom he ſuddenly received an order to quit the kingdom within eight and forty hours. The name of *treaſon* was given to the audacity by which he had been prompted to introduce, without the king's conſent, thoſe acts emanating from a foreign power. But the ſame hand which ſigned this ſentence ſought to alleviate its conſequences, and recommended the internuncio to the pope's clemency, becauſe, ſaid his majeſty, his conduct had been irreproachable in every inſtance except that *criminal attempt*.

The court of Naples, with its uſual inconſiſtency, ſoon paſſing from rage to repentance, wrote to the pope, as to diſarm his reſentment, and propoſed to renew the negotiation: but the wound was already inflicted. Pius ſenſibly felt this affront, which preſaged to him many others in ſucceſſion. Cardinal Buoncompagni unboſoms his painful feelings to the cardinal de Bernis, and ſupplicates him to procure the interpoſition of the eldeſt

ſon

ſon of the church * in behalf of her chief. This happened toward the concluſion of the year 1788, a period when Louis XVI. was himſelf involved in conſiderable difficulties: his interceſſion therefore was feeble, and of very little efficacy.

An unfortunate combination of circumſtances accumulated the ſubjects of diſpute between the Roman court and that of Naples.

The order of Malta was at this time rent by diviſions which extended to theſe two courts. The ambiguous exiſtence of that order was a fruitful ſource of diſſenſion. The grand-maſter, as a temporal ſovereign, was a vaſſal of the crown of Naples: as chief of an order, he was ſubject to the Holy See: hence a frequent claſhing of juriſdiction. At this period, exiſted at Malta a very violent quarrel between a knight named de Loras and the commander Dolomieu. The latter having diſpleaſed the court of Naples, had at the inſtigation of his adverſary, been baniſhed from the kingdom of the two Sicilies. Returning to Malta, he there ſuffered a ſecond diſgrace, which was a conſequence of the former: he was deprived of his office of repreſentative in the ſuperior council of Malta. From this ſentence he appealed to the Roman Rota, as the tribunal to whoſe juriſdiction were ſubject all the judgments of the order. The Rota had the boldneſs to abſolve the commander, and alleged, as the motive of its deciſion, that the cauſe of Dolomieu's condemnation was hidden, and "did not appear to be of a criminal nature."

This was, to ſay the leaſt of it, a daring meaſure, conſidering the ſituation in which the papacy then ſtood with reſpect to the Neapolitan court. The latter took offence at it, and, long accuſtomed to diſregard the reſtraints of delicacy in its relations with the ſovereign pontiff, imperiouſly demanded the reverſal of a deciſion "equally inconſiderate as erroneous and abſurd." The cardinal ſecretary of ſtate, who by this time was thoroughly weary of his poſt at the helm in the midſt of ſo many ſtorms, would not venture to undertake the taſk of writing an anſwer, as deſired. A congregation of cardinals was conſulted, who pronounced that, in criminal cauſes

* His moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the king of France.

cauſes of the knights of Malta, appeals to the court of Rome muſt always be admitted. Cardinal Buoncompagni, confident in this deciſion, replied that the Rota was authoriſed to act as it had done, and that it by no means merited the imputations thrown out againſt it. The court of Verſailles protected Dolomieu: but his adverſary, excelling him in the arts of intrigue, had found means to intereſt great perſonages in his own behalf, and procured powerful recommendations from all quarters. The court of Rome attempted to ſtruggle againſt ſo formidable a party: but even the friends of the Holy See were of opinion that it too frequently received appeals from the grand-maſter, and that by ſuch affectation of paramount authority it only exaſperated the governments which already had cauſes of complaint againſt the papacy. The Neapolitan government in particular was thereby rendered more averſe to conciliation.

The pope meanwhile had concluded his voluminous performance, and now condeſcended to communicate it to cardinal Buoncompagni, who, not having expected that mark of confidence, felt himſelf flattered by it, though he nevertheleſs ſeverely criticiſed his holineſs's production. "That memorial," ſaid he to his friends, "is briſtled with quotations, overloaded with authori-"ties: the pope has ſucceeded in rendering it at once "tireſomely dull and inconcluſive: the king of Naples "will never take the trouble of peruſing it: but he will "cauſe it to be anſwered with equal prolixity; and thus, "inſtead of remedying the diſeaſe, we ſhall find that we have only increaſed its virulence."—The memorial, however, without undergoing any alteration, was diſpatched in February 1789, and produced the effect which the cardinal had predicted.

At the approach of the feſtival of the apoſtles Peter and Paul, the epoch of that ceremony of which the ſuſpenſion was productive to his holineſs of ſo many ſleepleſs nights, he wrote to the king of Naples, in hopes of reviving ſome ſcruples in his breaſt. Vain attempt!—the palfrey did not make his appearance; and the *fiſcal* renewed his proteſt, but with yet greater ſolemnity than on the preceding occaſion; recalling to memory that the offering of the pious donation was to be made "*cum præſentatione*

"*paraphreni*

" *paraphreni albi decenter ornati, per ipſum regem vel per ejus* " *ſpecialem legatum regio charactere munitum, non alicui mi-* " *niſtro pontificio vel cameræ apoſtolicæ, ſed* IPSI ROMANO " PONTIFICI, PUBLICE, *et cum ſolitis ſolemnitatibus, ac in* " RECOGNITIONEM MEMORATI DOMINII **.*" Such were the expreſſions of the engagement renewed by the king don Carlos: and who could think of breaking through a cuſtom ſo ſolemnly ſanctioned? Yet the Neapolitan agent continued inflexible: he depoſited the annual tribute in a public bank, as he had done in 1788: the *fiſcal* renewed his proteſt; and the agent refuſed to receive it.

After a few days, the Neapolitan agent ſent a paquet from his court to the prelate Federici, one of thoſe ſubordinate characters who have acquired the confidence of their employer and who often abuſe it. Federici, who temporarily ſupplied the place of the ſecretary of ſtate, was more irritable than the pope himſelf, or had leſs command of his temper. He refuſed to receive the paquet: it was ſent to him a ſecond time; and a ſecond time he refuſed to accept it. Pius was not informed of this repeated breach of civility until the miſchief was irreparable: the intelligence wounded him to the ſoul. " Per- " haps he had been made to reject a propoſal of accommo- " dation! perhaps that paquet contained king Ferdi- " nand's anſwer to his memorial!"—Cardinal Spinelli, who, ſince the death of Orſini, was protector of the crown of Naples at the court of Rome, happened at this time to be at Naples. That prelate poſſeſſed a good heart, pure intentions, a native fund of ſound ſenſe, and refined penetration; nor could Pius have choſen a fitter perſon to be his interpreter. Accordingly he commiſſioned Spinelli to exculpate him from the involuntary offence, which was imputable to Federici alone. But the court of Naples, conſidering itſelf as ſuperior to the affront, was equally regardleſs of the apology: it quietly advanced in its predetermined career, and ſpared none either of the

* With the preſentation of a white palfrey decently capariſoned, by the king himſelf or by his ſpecial embaſſador veſted with the regal character, not to any of the pope's miniſters or to the Apoſtolic Chamber, but *to the Roman pontiff in perſon, publicly*, and with the uſual ſolemnities, and as *an acknowledgment of the aforeſaid ſovereignty.*

the ſpiritual or temporal uſurpations of the court of Rome.

The duchy of Caſtro and Ronciglione, lying within the territory that was called Saint Peter's Patrimony, had formerly belonged to the Farneſe family, and had, under ſome frivolous pretext, been confiſcated by the Apoſtolic Chamber. The king of Naples, who, as heir of the houſe of Farneſe, continued to bear the title of that duchy, determined at this period to recover the property of his anceſtors. This was a new ſource of uneaſineſs to the pope in that memorable year 1789, when the national aſſembly of France began to give the ſignal for thoſe mortal wounds which were to be inflicted on the papacy. The other catholic governments foreſaw the approaching evil: they ſaw with ſecret ſorrow that the boldneſs of reform would overſtep the bounds which they had wiſhed to reach, and that the philoſophic audacity of the French nation threatened the very exiſtence of that ſpiritual authority which it might be the intereſt of the temporal ſovereigns to modify, but not totally to overthrow. However powerful a monarch may feel himſelf by his own ſtrength, in critical moments he wiſhes to ſave his auxiliaries: thoſe governments, therefore, were ſeen to ſuſpend their hoſtilities againſt the pontificate, without however making any retrograde motion. Such was the conduct of the Neapolitan court in the year 1789: it did not ſurrender its conqueſts; but it forbore to add to their number.

In the month of July 1789, the king of Naples at length replied to Pius's long memorial in a reſpectful and affectionate ſtyle which announced a deſire of accommodation. But, with regard to the preſentation of the palfrey, he explained himſelf in a manner which forbade the pontiff to entertain any further hope on the ſubject. He reverted to the times of the uſurpations and hoſtile invaſions of Innocent IV. and Alexander IV., "days of violence," he ſaid, "which ought never to be remembered without "horror. And although he himſelf (Ferdinand) had ſtill "permitted the preſentation of the palfrey, he had not "formed any engagement to have that ceremony accom-"panied by a numerous cavalcade, a ſolemn embaſſy, "the roar of artillery, and all the pomp of a triumphal exhibition. Such ſolemnity was purely voluntary on "his

" his part: it was equally unbecoming his dignity as un-
" conformable to the holineſs and humility profeſſed by
" the viſible head of God's church. His reſolution was
" taken; nor could any conſideration induce him to alter
" it."

The pope accordingly perceived that the decree was irrevocable: the puerile homage of the palfrey, ſo flattering to his vanity, was irrecoverably loſt; and from his pontificate would henceforward be dated the diſgrace of the tiara. He was on the eve of ſuffering much more ſevere loſſes; but none of them more painfully affected him than this. Perhaps at this moment he continues to deplore it within the receſſes of his Carthuſian retirement at Florence.

During theſe tranſactions the marquis Caraccioli died; an event which opened a new ſource of alarms for Pius. In his relations with the Neapolitan court, all the marks of condeſcenſion had proceeded from that miniſter, the meaſures of violence from the chevalier Acton, and the acts of inconſiderate caprice from the queen. Henceforward therefore he had no room to expect the delicacy of tenderneſs in the treatment he was to experience.

But in this idea he was miſtaken. In proportion as the French revolution, which threatened to prove ſo fatal to him, was gradually developed, the other governments became leſs enterpriſing. That of Naples, without abandoning its pretenſions to Benevento, to the duchy of Caſtro and Ronciglione, and to the independence of its crown, ſettled by compromiſe certain difficulties relating to diſcipline. At the concluſion of the year 1789 the negotiations were reſumed; and the following year produced an accommodation by which the pope renounced only what he had no hope of recovering. It was agreed that each king of Naples ſhould, on his acceſſion to the throne, pay five hundred thouſand ducats as a pious offering to Saint Peter; that the pope ſhould nominate to all the leſſer benefices, but that his choice ſhould be confined to the king's ſubjects; that, for the epiſcopal ſees, he ſhould elect one of three candidates preſented to him; that application ſhould be made to him for diſpenſations and matrimonial affairs, but that he ſhould be obliged to confirm

confirm all the diſpenſations already granted by the biſhops; that the preſentation of the palfrey ſhould be *for ever aboliſhed*, and that the king of Naples ſhould ceaſe to be called *a vaſſal of the Holy See*.

This reconciliation was followed by a viſit of the king and queen of Naples to the pope during Paſſion-week of the year 1791. Pius laviſhed on them all his moſt affecting ſuavity of manner, his moſt ſumptuous diſplay of courtly parade. He exhibited to them the ſuperb and ever-novel ſpectacle of the *girandole* fire-work played off from the caſtle of Saint Angelo, and the illumination of the cupola and colonnade of Saint Peter's church. He viſited them at the Farneſe palace, which belonged to their family. He offered them a preſent of eatables which they refuſed, and another of moſaics which they accepted with pleaſure. To gratify them, the ceremony of the anniverſary of Pius's coronation was celebrated two days before its ſtated time. They made their appearance at the principal aſſemblies in Rome—in the palace of prince Doria, in that of the conſtable Colonna, at the Villa Borgheſe. They in ſome meaſure became reconciled with thoſe Romans to whom they and their ſubjects had teſtified an inveterate antipathy—an antipathy which they nouriſhed with food raked even from the annals of ancient Rome. It is a known fact that the kings of Naples, to indulge their rancor againſt thoſe Romans their deteſted neighbours, had placed, over the gates of the caſtle of Caſerte, repreſentations of hiſtoric events calculated to tarniſh the glory of their anceſtors, ſuch as the capture of Rome by Brennus, the ſubjucation at the Furcæ Caudinæ, &c. But this ſtay which the Neapolitan monarch and his conſort made at Rome, the reception which they experienced there, and the cordial conferences that took place between them and the pope, conſiderably ſoftened the aſperity of mutual prepoſſeſſions.

From that epoch indeed every circumſtance tended to effect an approximation between the Roman pontiff and thoſe of the European powers that ſtood in oppoſition to France. At firſt Pius lent them his ſpiritual aid—with what ſucceſs, is univerſally known: at length, to his great misfortune, he determined to add alſo the aſſiſtance

of

of his temporal arms. After having long fought againſt thoſe powers for his own intereſts, he was ruined in fighting under the ſame banners with them in ſupport of the common cauſe.

CHAPTER XXII.

Pius's Relations with different Powers of Europe—with the United States of America—with Poland—the King of Sweden—the Republic of Venice—Portugal—the Dukes of Modena, Parma, &c.

IF Pius has, by ſome of his faults, merited a part of his misfortunes, it muſt be owned that he governed the church at a period when the greateſt talents and the greateſt virtues would have been unable to ſcreen it from the ſtorms by which it was aſſailed. After the perſevering efforts of half a century, philoſophy had made a progreſs which was truly alarming to every kind of authority. She could not fail to make converts of thoſe men whom their education had prediſpoſed to receive her leſſons, of the wordly throng whoſe paſſions ſhe left in many reſpects unreſtrained, and whom ſhe emancipated from the troubleſome yoke of conſcientious ſcruple. Had ſhe confined herſelf within theſe bounds, ſhe would not have proved a dangerous foe to that claſs of men who turned to lucrative account thoſe prejudices which ſhe combated. But ſhe had ſucceſſively lowered

lowered herſelf to the level of the moſt vulgar underſtandings: ſhe had penetrated even into ſeminaries and cloiſters: in every country ſhe had gained ſome proſelytes around the throne; and, in ſome, ſhe had even ſeated herſelf upon it. Such was the enemy that Pius had to combat at the commencement and during the whole continuance of his pontificate. On every ſide he ſuffered her attacks. We have already ſeen what he had been obliged to endure from the emperor, from the emperor's brother the grand-duke, from the government of Naples, and even from the eccleſiaſtic electors. Spain, whoſe ſceptre had during two ſucceſſive reigns been ſwayed by religious princes, and from which to the laſt moment he received ſo many marks of deference—even Spain did not forbear to give him uneaſineſs. The irreconcilable hatred of the court of Madrid to the Jeſuits, its urgent importunity for the canoniſation of the venerable Palafox, its maxims of government very nearly approaching to the liberties of the Gallican church, conſtantly ſtood in oppoſition to the deareſt affections of the pontiff, and to his moſt deeply rooted prejudices. Formerly the Holy See had been a kind of ſacred citadel which kept the nations in awe, commanded even their ſovereigns, and menaced them with its formidable thunders. In latter times, the reverſe had taken place; and it was now become as it were the butt againſt which were directed all the batteries of the temporal authority. Their artillery allowed not a moment's repoſe to the beſieged, who each day ſaw tumbling in ruin ſome part of thoſe ramparts which they had been accuſtomed to conſider as inexpugnable. Heretics, ſchiſmatics, catholics of every ſhade and gradation, biſhops, even devotees, ſeemed all to have formed a general league as againſt a common enemy. Its able auxiliaries, the Jeſuits, formerly ſcattered in all parts of the univerſe, were now almoſt all collected around it: but, far from adding to its ſtrength, they increaſed its dangers by governing it according to the rules of an antiquated ſyſtem of tactics, of which every manœuvre was watched and defeated.

Almoſt all the temporal powers ſeemed to have formed the plan, if not of utterly denying, at leaſt of conſiderably abridging, the ſpiritual juriſdiction of the court of Rome: and

and it were no difficult taſk to enumerate the few exceptions to this rule which ſome of their number have furniſhed. But it will be matter of no ſmall ſurpriſe to find one of thoſe exceptions beyond the ocean, in a nation young indeed in the date of her political exiſtence, but already old in wiſdom—faithfully obſervant of the principles of univerſal toleration which formed one of the chief of her fundamental laws—acknowledging no paramount mode of worſhip, but affording protection to all religions whoſe profeſſors had taken refuge within her territories. During two centuries North America had been the aſylum of a conſiderable number of catholics whom perſecution had driven from different countries. So long as thoſe refugees had, together with their adoptive countrymen, continued ſubject to the oppreſſive yoke of England, their civil exiſtence had been equivocal and precarious. At length breathing under a regular and protecting government, they determined to ſecure the exerciſe of their mode of worſhip by the nomination of a biſhop. The congreſs, although for the moſt part conſiſting of philoſophers and proteſtants, did not ſcruple to act as their interpreter in applying to the court of Rome*. In 1789 they aſked of the pontiff a biſhop for the catholics of North America, leaving to the Holy See the perpetual right of nomination. Pius, who was not accuſtomed to ſuch deference even from the catholic powers, accepted the offer, but did not make an improper uſe of it. He left to the members of the catholic clergy the taſk of nominating their biſhop in this firſt inſtance, only reſerving to himſelf the privilege of confirming their choice. The perſon whom they elevated to the epiſcopal chair was John Carroll, who fixed his ſee at Baltimore, and aſſumed the title of pope's legate.

The authority of the pontiff was thus making ſome diſtant acquiſitions, while his loſſes were accumulated cloſe

* That pontifical vanity and policy ſhould have magnified into a ſolemn act of congreſs ſome private application from a committee of catholics or from their clergy, is quite in character: but be it remembered that the congreſs have uniformly abſtained from all interference in matters of religion.

close around him : and to modern Rome might have been applied what Racine said of the ancient—

" O Rome ! thy bitt'rest foes stand at thy gates."

Accordingly, while the emperor, the grand-duke of Tuscany, and the king of Naples, seemed to conspire against the papacy, it received some consolations, some indemnifications from certain states of the North. Have we not seen the great Frederic testify a regard for the pontiff; Catherine II. likewise, notwithstanding the vexations caused to Pius by her agents, pay a sort of homage to his spiritual authority ? But it was more particularly from Poland that he more than once received flattering marks of deference.

In 1775, it had been remarked in this last-mentioned country that the number of holidays was too great.—Application was made to the pope, who suppressed thirty. —Several members of the confederation of Bar had leagued themselves by oath against king Stanislaus ; and when they afterward wished for a reconciliation with him they asked and obtained of Pius an absolution from their oath. The whole nation, however, were not equally well disposed toward the court of Rome ; and many of the Poles were heard to express their wishes that their country might be emancipated from those spiritual trammels which retarded its progress in prosperity. In 1778 appeared the plan of a code, digested by the illustrious Zamoïski, proposing to abridge the jurisdiction of the pope's nuncio and the immunities of the clergy—to abolish the practice of appeals to the court of Rome—to subject all its bulls to the king's approbation—to establish a rule that monastic vows could not be pronounced except by persons of mature age, &c. But the hour was not yet come when the torch of reason should be permitted to dispel the clouds of superstition from the Polish sky : the clergy of that kingdom arose in opposition to these innovations : the pontiff bitterly censured them ; and the diet of 1780, in which the individuals who would have been affected by them possessed a predominancy, rejected the plan of the intended code. Its author went to seek an asylum in a happier land, where philosophy was not a crime ; he

he found protection under the wing of Joſeph II. Pius did not, during the whole courſe of his pontificate, gain a more complete triumph.

King Staniſlaus, enlightened as he was, procured for the pope ſome other ſucceſſes; feeling probably that the church afforded a ſupport to his limited and tottering authority. In 1779, wiſhing to ſuppreſs a chapter of canons, which was equally uſeleſs as ſo many others of the kind, he applied to the pope for permiſſion. A congregation of cardinals examined this momentous queſtion, decided it in the negative, and Staniſlaus ſubmitted to their deciſion.

In 1782, ſeveral marks of inſanity, which had been diſplayed by the too-famous biſhop of Cracow, having induced his chapter to cauſe him to be confined, and this meaſure having been approved by the diet, Staniſlaus thought proper to diſarm the pope's reſentment which might have been excited by this ſuppoſed invaſion of his ſpiritual authority, and for that purpuſe ſent to him a plenipotentiary to juſtify the Poliſh government. Finally, whoever recollects the conciliatory part which Staniſlaus took in the thorny buſineſs reſpecting the archbiſhop of Mohilow, muſt acknowledge that no ſovereign among Pius's contemporaries took greater pains than he to ſeek opportunities of alleviating the pontiff's diſtreſſes.

Another northern potentate, whom difference of religion as well as the diſtance of his dominions might naturally have precluded from almoſt all connexion with the pope—Guſtavus III., who ſought to diſtinguiſh himſelf by every ſpecies of ſingularity, ſeemed to affect ſhowing marks of regard for the head of a church to which he did not himſelf belong. In 1781 he publiſhed an edict favourable to the catholics of his kingdom, and on this occaſion ſignified to Pius that "the ſtyle of the edict "was adapted to the conceptions of the Swediſh nation, "but that the ſtatutes were conformable to the ſpirit of "the mildeſt toleration."

Two years after this, he perſonally paid homage to the pontiff whom he had courted from ſuch a diſtance. Setting out from Sweden under the title of the Count de Haga, he arrived on the ſecond of November at Piſa,

where at this time the grand-duke reſided. Thence he wrote to the pope a moſt affectionate letter, announcing his ſpeedy arrival at Rome, and aſſuring him that the catholics in his ſtates enjoyed and ever ſhould continue to enjoy his peculiar protection. Piraneſi, his agent at Rome, experienced a very cordial reception on delivering that letter to the pontiff. A northern monarch, a heretical prince, coming to viſit his holineſs, and loading him with civilities, while ſo many catholic princes compelled him to ſwallow deep draughts from the bitter cup of inſult and indignity! ſuch an event at once afforded a feaſt to his ſelf-love, and pour the balm of conſolation into his wounded boſom. Immediately he diſpatched a courier who was ordered to meet the royal traveller on the frontier of the Eccleſiaſtical State, and accompany him to Rome. On a former occaſion we mentioned that this courier was deceived by the emperor, who paſſed himſelf for the count de Haga, and entered Rome under that title. The illuſion continued until the moment when the pope and the emperor appeared in each other's preſence. Pius affected to feel only an agreeable ſurpriſe on diſcovering his error; though his boſom harboured an inward vexation, which he exerted his utmoſt power to conceal. This unexpected though promiſed viſit undoubtedly flattered his vanity: but at the ſame time it revived unpleaſing recollections, and was perhaps an omen that boded new ſtorms. He had nought but homage to expect from the king of Sweden: with the inflexible Joſeph he was to have connexions of a different kind; and the latter enjoyed with malicious pleaſure the ill-diſſembled embarraſſment of the pontiff, who, he plainly ſaw, would by far have preferred the preſence of the ſtray ſon to that of the rebel.

The real count de Haga cloſely followed him who had ſurreptitiouſly uſurped his name. On the morrow of his arrival he aſſiſted at divine ſervice celebrated in Saint Peter's church by the pope himſelf, who profuſely laviſhed on him every token of affection. His affable demeanour immediately gained for him the good will of the Romans. He neglected none of thoſe winning arts of conciliation which were ſo familiar to him; and he dextrouſly accommodated them in juſt proportion

tion to places and perſons. Cardinal Antonelli having, as chief of the *propaganda*, teſtified to him his gratitude for the kind indulgence which he granted to the catholics in his dominions, "If God," replied he with a hypocritic countenance, "prolong my life and "health, I hope to do much more in their favour."— With zealous eagerneſs he viſited all the curioſities of Rome, and every where left in the minds of thoſe with whom he converſed an advantageous idea of his underſtanding, his taſte for the fine arts, and his refined politeneſs. He particularly teſtified an earneſt deſire to ſee that famous muſeum on which he knew that Pius ſet a great value. The king and the pontiff there met as it were by chance: their meeting powerfully excited the curioſity of the ſpectators; and even the ſlighteſt particulars of what took place on the occaſion were minutely obſerved and carefully treaſured in remembrance.

A French painter made this interview the ſubject of a picture which was highly applauded by the voice of flattery: but it was not, as Gorani intimates, the firſt or the only piece on the ſubject. That author appears to be further miſtaken when he aſſerts that this meeting was an accommodatory medium adopted to avoid the embarraſſment of regulating the ceremonial of etiquette between a proteſtant monarch and the head of the Roman church. There could exiſt no queſtion of ceremonial with reſpect to Guſtavus, ſince he did not traval in the character of a king, and had announced his wiſh to remain moſt profoundly incognito at Rome. Nay too literal an interpretation was given to that deſire dictated by his feigned modeſty, in ſparing him the fatiguing homage of public entertainments, and the wearifome pomp of ſtate dinners. The count de Haga, however, would have been pleaſed to ſee people occaſionally recollect the king of Sweden: and he had the littleneſs to complain of the omiſſion to the cardinal de Bernis in a tone of affected gaiety, of which that keen quick-ſighted courtier did not fail to underſtand the real meaning. The academy of the Arcadians alone gave him a reception calculated to remind

him of his royal rank. The pope, however, did not omit any of thoſe teſtimonies of affectionate regard which ought to have been more pleaſing to him than acts of oſtentatious homage.

After a few months' ſtay at Rome, he departed for Naples, taking his route through the Pontine marſhes. He admired the works there, and beſtowed the moſt pompous eulogiums on them after his return; for, from the caſtle of Caſerte, where he ſpent ſix weeks, he went back to Rome in time to aſſiſt at the religious ſolemnities of Paſſion-week. Never before had they been celebrated with greater brilliancy than on this occaſion. The great number of diſtinguiſhed foreigners who then happened to be at Rome ſerved further to enhance their pompous ſplendor. Guſtavus, who had ſet out with a reſolution of admiring every thing, was ſtruck by the majeſty with which the pontiff gave his benediction to the people on Holy Thurſday and Eaſter-day: and, to ſuſtain with uniformity his aſſumed character of protector of the catholics, he declared aloud that the proteſtants were to blame for condemning the pomp of thoſe ceremonies; and that, ſince religion was neceſſary, it was right to clothe it with every external decoration which could render it auguſt and impreſſive. He ſeemed at this moment to have forgotten that religion is more reſpected in thoſe countries where it appears in the moſt ſimple garb. He teſtified a curioſity for every thing connected with the catholic mode of worſhip; and the pope ſhowed great alacrity in gratifying him. He cauſed him to aſſiſt at the admiſſion of a novice, in the convent of capuchin nuns: he even granted him the privilege—ſo difficult to be obtained—of entering the interior receſſes of a nunnery: it remained acceſſible to him at all hours of the day; but Guſtavus made a moderate uſe of that permiſſion.

He determined to treat the Romans with a ſpectacle quite novel to them, and which put their toleration to the teſt in a ſingular manner. A Swediſh biſhop, the baron Taube, his chief almoner, came from the remote regions of Sweden to perform for him the functions of his miniſtry. Perhaps Guſtavus was afraid leſt his ſubjects ſhould think him perverted by the ſociety of the Roman idolaters, and wiſhed to ſhow himſelf faithful to the proteſtant

teſtant mode of worſhip even in the centre of catholiciſm. He cauſed a chapel to be fitted up in his palace: the chief almoner pronounced in it a diſcourſe to prepare his flock for communion: on the morrow, at the concluſion of a pathetic ſermon, he celebrated divine ſervice according to the rite of the confeſſion of Augſburg; and the king, accompanied by his Swediſh attendants and ſome foreign Lutherans, received the ſacrament, while a crowd of Romans, who more ſtrongly felt the impulſe of curioſity than of fanaticiſm, ſtood aſſembled at the gate of his palace and in the adjacent ſtreets, without expreſſing any other emotions than thoſe of aſtoniſhment.

On this occaſion Pius exhibited a proof of his tolerance which gave offence to none but bigots. It would have been difficult for a pope to have ſhown himſelf more of a philoſopher.

During this ſecond reſidence at Rome, Guſtavus had the ſatisfaction to find that his pretended deſire of remaining incognito was ſomewhat leſs indulged. When he went on a viſit to the college of the *propaganda*, which is deſtined to ſhed the light of the catholic faith over all parts of the globe, and of courſe maintains connexions with all the nations which dwell on its ſurface, Guſtavus received from its members a compliment which he might in vain have expected any where elſe: he was preſented with his own eulogium in verſe, written in forty-ſix different languages. His ſurpriſe was lively, and expreſſed in a lively manner.

It was recollected, ſomewhat too late, that the grand-duke and ducheſs of Ruſſia, though travelling like him under modeſt titles, had conſented that the dome of Saint Peter's cathedral ſhould be illuminated in compliment to them. Why then was a leſs brilliant reception given to the king of Sweden? The cardinal de Bernis and the chevalier Azara ſpoke on the ſubject to the pontiff. Some perſons of inferior grade objected on account of the expenſe to be incurred by that magnificent ſpectacle; and the circumſtances of the papacy were ſuch at this period, as did not warrant a diſregard to the ſuggeſtions of prudential œconomy. But Pius delighted above all things, in the pompous ſhow of exhibitions; and he wiſhed to leave an advantageous impreſſion of his own behaviour

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on the mind of Guſtavus. Accordingly the dome of Saint Peter's was illuminated. This happened at the termination of the Swediſh monarch's ſecond reſidence at Rome. Previous to his departure, the royal traveller made to the pope a preſent of three boxes of Braſil wood, which were accepted with a pleaſure bordering upon enthuſiaſm; for ſuch was Pius's uſual manner of receiving whatever was calculated to add to the embelliſhment of his muſeum. Thoſe three boxes contained two hundred and twenty-two medals, of which eighty-nine were of gold, and the remaining hundred and thirty-three of ſilver. They were a collection of the effigies of all the Swediſh kings who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in any department whatever.

It was not without ſenſations of regret that Pius ſaw Guſtavus depart; and the pontiff and the king tenderly embraced each other at the moment of ſeparation. The former had been ſincere in the teſtimonies of his affection: for, as Joſeph II. had ſeveral times obſerved, he was, "at bottom, a good kind of man." Guſtavus had only acted an aſſumed character; but he had played his part well; for he was an excellent actor.

While the pope received ſuch pleaſing treatment from a prince on whom he had no claims, he ſtood expoſed to the perſecutions, frequently indeed deſerved, of thoſe governments from which he had a right to look for ſome reſpect at leaſt. The Venetians, in particular, were very troubleſome neighbours to him as a temporal ſovereign, and, as father of the faithful, very indocile ſons.

No nation of Italy, however, had greater reaſon to be ſatisfied with the relations by which it was linked to the court of Rome. In the courſe of three centuries and half, five Venetians had occupied the chair of Saint Peter: the moſt eminent dignities of the church had been profuſely laviſhed on natives of their republic; yet it had been involved in unceaſing broils with the popes. Benedict XIV., who was not a man of reſentful temper, entertained againſt the Venetians an incurable averſion: even the benevolent Ganganelli was never able to ſucceed in conciliating their friendſhip; and Pius VI., who ſeemed predeſtined to experience every kind of trou-

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ble and oppoſition, had, in the very firſt year of his pontificate, reaſon to complain of their conduct toward him. A great number of abbeys and prebends were under the protection of their nobles. Suddenly the ſenate ſeculariſed thoſe eccleſiaſtical foundations, and decreed the incorporation of their poſſeſſions with thoſe of the nobility.

This was the firſt ſignal of a quarrel which an event of ſtrange fatality could alone have terminated—that is to ſay, the overthrow of both governments. Pius, whoſe authority at this time was yet unimpaired, aſſumed a menacing tone, and ſaid to the Venetian ambaſſador, "Unleſs the ſenate revoke their decree, I will not acknowledge the new patriarch of Venice. It is time that your republic declare whether it chooſe to remain in Saint Peter's bark, or to quit it." He could not then foreſee, that, within the period of his own exiſtence, Saint Peter's bark and the Venetian bucentoro* ſhould both be daſhed to pieces againſt the ſame rock. The embaſſador oppoſed threat to threat: "Were it ſo," ſaid he, "I would ſoon quit Rome, and your nuncio ſhould be ſent back to you."—"It is of little conſequence to me," replied the pontiff, "to have at my court the embaſſador of a ſtate which ſhows ſo little reſpect for the Holy See, while I elevate its ſubjects to the higheſt dignities of the church."

In the following year the animoſities were increaſed to ſuch a degree that Pius, deſirous of emulating the warlike exploits of one of his predeceſſors, the impetuous Rovere†, ſeriouſly talked of declaring war againſt the republic of Venice. But the two cardinals of the name of Rezzonico, who were themſelves Venetians, interpoſed: the pope calmed his paſſion, and ſubmitted the examination of his cauſe to five of the moſt enlightened cardinals. Of their number Caſtelli alone ſpoke the accents of peace: the other four maintained that the patriarch ought not to be confirmed unleſs the ſenate redreſſed the grievances of the Holy See. But the ſenate, who had intereſted in their favour the courts of Vienna and Naples, anſwered in

* The Doge's ſtate veſſel. † Julius II. who occupied the pontifical throne from October 31, 1503, to February 21, 1513.

in the haughty language of diſdain, and ſhowed themſelves diſpoſed to break off the negotiation.

The pontiff, whoſe fits of courage were not of long duration, ſoon came to terms, and proclaimed the patriarch in the Conſiſtory. In return for this conceſſion, he thought himſelf entitled to require that all edicts militating againſt the juriſdiction of the Holy See ſhould be revoked. But the ſenate, far from being moved according to his hope, ſuppreſſed at diſcretion every convent which they thought uſeleſs: nor had Pius any other conſolation than that of learning that the Venetian commonalty loudly murmured againſt that aſſembly, which ſuffered itſelf to be guided by the impetuous ardor of the younger ſenators. But of what conſequence was the commonalty at Venice? The ſenate, regardleſs of its murmurs, continued to purſue their reformatory plan, and, after the example of ſeveral other ſovereigns, limited the age for taking vows, diminiſhed the number of convents, and ſet bounds to their invaſive covetouſneſs. Like the cat in the fable, they enjoyed a double pleaſure from theſe innovations—they were promoting the intereſts of their own ſtate, and at the ſame time mortifying the pope, who too late perceived, that, in this univerſal conſpiracy againſt his authority, there was no enemy whom he was authoriſed to diſregard as unworthy of notice.

An incident of a purely temporal nature, which occurred in 1780, furniſhed a new cauſe of diſturbance in addition to the many which already exiſted. The Farrareſe territory, it is well known, bordered on that of Venice. Near Rovigo, a river which formed the boundary, often overflowed. The Venetian ſenate determined on the erection of a dike to check its ravages. This ſalutary meaſure excited the ill-humour of the court of Rome; and a body of troops was ſent againſt the workmen, of whom ſix were killed in making oppoſition to the military force. The ſenate demanded a ſignal ſatiſfaction, threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to obtain it by force. On this occaſion Pius ſuffered himſelf to be intimidated: he threw the blame of that tranſaction from his own ſhoulders on thoſe of his legate, who in his turn exonerated himſelf by producing the order which he had received

received from cardinal Pallavicini. But the Venetian ſenate, confident of being ſupported by the courts of Vienna and Verſailles, had already ſent troops to the ſcene of action; and nought remained for the pope but to yield. His ſoldiers, who were accuſed of having exceeded their orders, received puniſhment, and the works of the dike were reſumed. The limitary ſtream was effectually coerced from ever again overflowing: but the reſentment of the ſenate, not ſo eaſily reſtrained, continued to burſt forth on every occaſion.

The republic of Venice had in Dalmatia a number of ſubjects profeſſing the Greek faith, and ſtill continuing in ſeparation from the church of Rome. It had ever acted toward them with toleration: to treat them with favour was a ſure mode of mortifying the court of Rome; and the Venetian ſenate eagerly ſeiſed the opportunity. In 1782 they invited to Venice an archbiſhop of the Greek ſect, and gave him a church for the celebration of divine ſervice according to his own liturgy. The pope immediately exclaimed againſt the ſcandal, and hurled his ſpiritual thunders againſt the church that was thus profaned. The Venetians laughed at the holy father's wrath, though they condeſcended to enter into explanations for the purpoſe of proving how unreaſonable it was. The reſult of the diſcuſſion proved that the exiſtence of that Greek church was not an innovation, and that the only novelty in the whole affair was the ſolemnity with which the divine ſervice had now been celebrated in it. The pontiff was obliged to ſubmit: but his thoughtleſs impetuoſity was not calculated to accelerate an accommodation. The ſenate cauſed a conſiderable diminution to be made of the ſums which the Venetians were accuſtomed to pay to the court of Rome. The pope ſighed at the loſs, and it was natural that he ſhould. The ſenate ſuppreſſed ſome rich monaſteries, and applied their revenues to the endowment of hoſpitals that were deſtitute of reſources. The pope ſighed again: but did he deſerve that any one ſhould ſympathiſe in his afflictions?

At length the French revolution, which even in its firſt ſtage wore an aſpect highly formidable to princes and ariſtocratic governments and religious eſtabliſhments, warned

warned the catholic ſovereigns and ſtates to conſpire in one common cauſe: yet Rome and Venice ſtill continued at variance. An arrangement concluded in 1749 ſeemed to have put a final period to the diſputes reſpecting their boundaries on the banks of the Po. It ſecured to each of the two ſtates the free navigation of that river, obviated on each ſide the ravages of its exundations, and prevented the inſalubrity of both its banks. But the Romans infringed thoſe wiſe regulations: they changed the courſe of the ſtream according to their own convenience, by oppoſing to it artificial obſtructions: on the left ſhore bordering on the Venetian coaſt, they opened for it a new mouth, through which the maſs of its waters flowed off and inundated the territory of the republic. The former mouth was ſtopped up: the navigation was injured in conſequence: the accuſtomed approaches of the Po became dangerous and impracticable: foreign navigators complained, and ſhunned the ſpot. The ſenate of Venice had, in their turn, juſt cauſe of complaint, and demanded reparation.

The court of Rome had now recourſe to her uſual expedient, and, by a tedious and ſophiſtical ſtatement, laboured, to prove the goodneſs of her cauſe, and the innocency of her operations. The Venetian ſenate haughtily aſſerted the rights of their ſovereignty—appealed to treaties—talked of compulſory meaſures—exculpated themſelves to foreign nations by aſcribing to the arbitrary proceedings of the papacy the impeded ſtate of the navigation. Diſcuſſions took place; conferences were held; menaces were thrown out. But more momentous intereſts intervened to claim the attention of both governments and ſuſpend their conteſt. The powers who have ſucceeded them, have inherited that quarrel: for concord did not preſide at their firſt appearance on the theatre of Italy. Will the court of Vienna and the Cis-Alpine republic agree better reſpecting the mouths of the Po than the Venetian ſenate and the Roman government? At leaſt it may ſafely be aſſerted that the two latter, in making their exit from the ſtage of political exiſtence, did not mutually regret each other.

This double cauſe of diſagreement exiſted only for ſome of the catholic powers: but there was not perhaps one

one of them, great or ſmall, remote or proximate, which had not at the ſame period its diſputes with the Holy See reſpecting eccleſiaſtic concerns. Even Portugal, which, of all the European nations, ſeemed the moſt ſervilely devoted to the papacy, occaſionally added to the load of embarraſſments under which Pius laboured. His pontificate was during two or three years contemporary with the miniſtry of the marquis de Pombal, that imperious miniſter, who, full of the ſpirit of the times, dared to attempt ſeveral philoſophic innovations amid a people leſs illumined by the light of philoſophy than any other nation in Europe. Scarcely had Pius taken his ſeat on Saint Peter's chair, when Pombal attempted to deprive him of the collation of all the benefices in Portugal. A compromiſe was however entered into: the king reſerved to himſelf the annual ſum of a hundred and twenty thouſand crowns to be levied on the vacant church livings; and fifty thouſand were granted to the pope for the maintenance of ſix hundred Portugueſe Jeſuits who had been baniſhed to his dominions. The death of Joſeph I., which was ſoon followed by the diſgrace of the marquis de Pombal, delivered the court of Rome from a formidable antagoniſt.

Immediately the ſcence was changed. The queen had ſecretly ſighed over the various wounds which the ex-miniſter had inflicted on the Holy See, and now haſted to cure them. She kept up a regular correſpondence with Pius—re-eſtabliſhed his nuncio in the enjoyment of all the privileges of which he had been ſtripped—reſtored to liberty ſeveral fanatics who had ſuffered perſecution under the deſpotiſm of the preceding miniſtry—reſtored ſeveral devotional inſtitutions which it had aboliſhed. The queen, good-natured, ſincerely pious, but eaſily influenced, obeyed the ſuggeſtions of the marquis de Pombal's enemies. Superſtition now began to re-appear with triumphant ſway: the papacy, threatened with ſo many loſſes, received ſome conſolations; and Portugal was about to replunge into the darkneſs from which it had begun to emerge.

In 1778 Pius obtained from the court of Liſbon a new *concordatum*, by which the collation of all the prebends was equally divided in thirds to the queen, the biſhops, and

and himſelf. Soon after, the patriarchal ſee of Liſbon, which Pombal had deprived of almoſt all its honours, recovered its former ſplendor, its revenues, its numerous and opulent chapter. The partiſans of the Jeſuits were countenanced; and even an idea was for ſome time entertained that the Jeſuits themſelves were to be again taken into favour. Pius's enemies had induſtriouſly diſſeminated that report: the miniſters of the courts of the houſe of Bourbon were alarmed by it; and the chevalier de Meneſes, the Portugueſe miniſter, was directed formally to contradict it. The only meaſure which the court of Liſbon thought proper at the moment to take in favour of the Jeſuits and the See of Rome, was to grant moderate penſions to the former, and thus relieve the Apoſtolic Chamber from the burden of their maintenance, of which it had till that time borne almoſt the entire weight.

Thus paſſed ſix or ſeven years of the moſt perfect good underſtanding between the courts of Liſbon and of Rome. While all the other ſovereigns, whether religious or not, were making eccleſiaſtic reforms, abridging the power of the clergy, and curtailing the revenues of the Holy See, the queen of Portugal alone continued to found convents, re-eſtabliſhed the inquiſition, and, obedient to the ſuggeſtions of her huſband* who was a zealous partiſan of the defunct ſociety, ſuffered an occaſional ray of hope to cheer its proſcribed and ſcattered members. All the other catholic powers, if they did not threaten a rupture with the Holy See, at leaſt made no ſcruple of ſetting bounds to the ſums which their ſubjects, whether of the clergy or the laity, paid to it as the purchaſe of bulls for benefices, of diſpenſations, &c. The Portugueſe alone, after the example of their ſovereign, multiplied their demands for ſpiritual favours, of which they paid the price not only without murmur but with pious alacrity. In every other catholic country, the prelates whether opulent or otherwiſe, teiſed the *datario* with applications for a reduction of the tax on their bulls: but the *datario* experienced no ſuch importunity from the beneficed clergy of Portugal, who, on the contrary, ſhowed themſelves the

* Don Carlos.

the moſt devoted and moſt generous of the ſons of the church. To ſolicit for any abatement of thoſe dues, which they conſidered as ſo legitimate and ſacred, would have appeared to them a ſacrilege.

Some ſlight ſtorms, however, diſturbed the tranquillity of that ſo peaceful horizon. In ſpite of prieſtly oppoſition, ſome rays of philoſophy burſt through the gloom which ſat brooding over Portugal. The prince of Braſil, leſs prieſt-ridden than his mother, had ſuffered himſelf to be *perverted* by the peruſal of ſome foreign books. In 1787 he had the boldneſs to order Portugueſe tranſlations of the books of the normal ſchools of Vienna, and to introduce them into ſchools which he had himſelf eſtabliſhed. Soon after, he cauſed certain poſitions, which were diſagreeable to the Holy See, and which he had found in a journal printed at Berlin, to be ſuſtained at the univerſity of Coimbra—ſuch as the following—"The ſo-"vereign may reſume grants made to the church"—"He may, without impiety, tolerate every religion that "is not incompatible with the ſafety of the ſtate"—"He may expel the pope's nuncios from his dominions, "forbid his ſubjects to make application to the pontiff, "and authoriſe biſhops to grant diſpenſations"—"He "deſerves praiſe if he endeavour to emancipate his au-"thority from the yoke of the Holy See, &c. &c." Theſe dogmata were novel in Portugal: at Liſbon they were heard with aſtoniſhment; at Rome, with mingled horror and indignation.

The young prince ſeemed determined not to confine himſelf to the bare theory of thoſe bold principles of which he encouraged the propagation. He had ſucceeded in opening his mother's eyes to a perception of the diſorders prevalent in the monaſteries of both ſexes, and the ſhameful exceſs of opulence which they enjoyed. The queen, notwithſtanding all her devotion, ſaw that a diminution of the number of monks would tend to promote the proſperity of her dominions; and accordingly, in 1788, ſhe ordained that none of her ſubjects ſhould thenceforward become a member of any religious order without the *royal ſanction*. Some other meaſures of her government excited in the pope's breaſt an apprehenſion

henſion that ſhe would become leſs obedient to his will.

About this period the prince of Braſil died. Entitled to regret on many accounts, he was lamented by the whole nation, the clergy excepted.

The impulſe which he had given to the government of his country continued to operate for ſome time after his death. In 1790, her Moſt Faithful Majeſty felt a touch of compaſſion for thoſe claſſes of the people upon whom alone the weighty preſſure of taxation fell: ſhe ordained that all her ſubjects, not excepting the nobility or clergy, ſhould equally bear the burden: and the pope who ſuffered ſo many loſſes for which his conſent was not aſked, thought it prudent to ſanction by a brief this derogation from the immunities of the church. Encouraged by the ſucceſs of this firſt meaſure, the queen proceeded to greater lengths. The archbiſhop of Braga poſſeſſed the preſcriptive nomination to all the offices of magiſtracy belonging to his ſee: the queen inſiſted that he ſhould renounce that right: the prelate appealed to the court of Rome: but the queen, without awaiting its deciſion, iſſued an edict ſuppreſſing not only the ſignorial rights of the archbiſhop, but likewiſe all the temporal juriſdictions of the clergy.

Thus, while the national aſſembly of France were inflicting the deepeſt wounds on the Roman church, her Moſt Faithful Majeſty ſuffered herſelf to be hurried away by the torrent of example, and contributed her ſhare toward embittering the cup of mortification for the pope. But ſhe ſoon perceived the dangers to which the progreſs of French principles at once expoſed both the altar and the throne: ſhe ſuſpended her reforms: ſhe participated the wiſhes, and at length the exertions, of the other European powers who had conſpired againſt the moſt formidable enemy of the Holy See.

The duke of Modena, too, proved himſelf at the ſame time a troubleſome neighbour to the Holy See, as well as an unruly ſon. From his progenitors he had inherited pretenſions to the duchy of Ferrara, which had been wreſted from his family in 1598. He had made repeated efforts to enforce his claims, and even proceeded, in 1784, to ſome military preparations which alarmed

Pius's

Pius's fears: but the great catholic courts extended their protection over the pontiff's temporal power, as their quarrel lay only againſt the uſurpations of his ſpiritual authority. The duke of Modena did not follow up his projects: but in the following year he executed one which his philoſophy had long before planned; he for ever aboliſhed the inquiſition within his little ſtate, which had more than once been diſturbed by the agents of that execrable tribunal; and to the biſhops alone he intruſted the care of watching over the purity of the faith.

Finally, even in Switzerland, of which the catholic portion had ever been reckoned among the moſt zealous ſupporters of the papal deſpotiſm, meaſures were adopted to prevent the uſurpations of the nuncio at Lucern.

Amid this univerſal conſpiracy of the catholic ſovereigns againſt the Holy See, the duke of Parma was almoſt the only one who continued unconditionally enſlaved to it. Educated by philoſophers, he had ſtood conſtantly on his guard againſt their irreligious maxims: and on him was now devolved the taſk of atoning for the uneaſineſs which his ſtate had given to the court of Rome under the pontificate of Clement XIII. —His exceſſive devotion conſoled and encouraged the ſucceeding pontiffs. While all the other governments were employed in aboliſhing the inquiſition, or at leaſt reſtricting it within certain bounds, the duke of Parma, moved by divine inſpiration, determined to re-eſtabliſh it. This meaſure, he aſſerted in his edict, was dictated by "his paternal affection for his people, with the view "of ſcreening them from the poiſon of hereſy and "incredulity." He even promiſed to aſſiſt that tribunal with an armed force, if neceſſary. He next undertook its apology, which he addreſſed to the tribunal itſelf; and vindicated it from the injuſtice with which it was condemned by its enemies: "although," ſaid he, "the "holy office ever acts with moderation, and with all "that mildneſs which characteriſes the church, the "wickedneſs of the age paints it nevertheleſs in the "moſt odious colours." The inquiſition requited his encouragements by the moſt ſevere vigilance; and the ſtate of Parma, above every other in Europe, might claim

claim the honour of being the moſt fanatical and ſuperſtitious. Its prince ſurrounded himſelf, in his ſeat at Colorno, with ſacred pictures and reliques which he had procured from Rome ; and, by ſo many merits, he was well entitled to rank as the moſt faithful ſon of the church. Hence he obtained from the Holy See a teſtimony of good-will, which he alone was capable of duly appreciating : he had long ſolicited permiſſion for the prieſts in his ſtate to celebrate three maſſes on Eaſter-day ; and that *ſignal favour* was granted as a reward of the pious zeal which had impelled him to reeſtabliſh the inquiſition.

Such had, during ſixteen years, been the relations, more or leſs hoſtile, of moſt of the European powers with the court of Rome. During that long interval, France—who had even during the dark ages marched at the head of all the governments that oppoſed the uſurpations of the papacy—ſeemed to have concluded with it a truce for many years to come. But ſuddenly ſhe ſtarted from he trance : and, being herſelf whirled along by a tide of the moſt imperious circumſtances, ſhe aſſailed and over-turned that ancient throne of which philoſophy had on every ſide ſapped the foundations.

But, before we enter on a deſcription of that grand cataſtrophe, we think it neceſſary more particularly to explain what was, a ſhort time before, the ſtate of that Roman government, whoſe long duration ought more powerfully to excite our aſtoniſhment than its overthrow.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXIII.

State of the Roman Government, previous to the Period of its Overthrow.

IN one of the preceding chapters we have noticed the chief part of the defects of the Roman government. They alone might, in any other country, have been ſufficient to occaſion its overthrow: but, among a people void of energy—engaged by ſuperſtitious exhibitions—viſited by ſo many foreigners, of whom ſome diverted the Roman's attention from the conſideration of his grievances, while others relieved his diſtreſs—under a mild climate where the wants of nature are few and eaſily ſupplied—placed in a political ſituation where each day produced freſh aliment for his curioſity, each year ſome new gratifications or at leaſt ſome hopes to feed his ambition of whatever kind—under a government deſtitute indeed of force, but adminiſtered without tyranny—under a government, in ſhort, over which, according to the notions of the vulgar, God himſelf and his apoſtles ſeemed immediately to preſide—abuſes which would have been the leaſt tolerable in other countries and other circumſtances, might have long ſupported themſelves in peaceful impunity.

Toward the laſt years, however, which immediately preceded the French revolution, thoſe abuſes had riſen to ſuch a height, that even thoſe obſervers who were

the leaſt diſpoſed to gloomy anticipation prefaged ſerious calamities to the Holy See: ſuch in particular was the moderate, the conciliating, and one might ſay the optimiſt, cardinal de Bernis.

The Roman government was guilty of culpable neglect eſpecially in two particulars on which chiefly depends the proſperity of a ſtate—morality and finance.

All claſſes in the ſtate were tainted with immorality—not indeed that immorality of principle, that unbluſhing impudence of depravity, which publicly proclaims its infamy, and mocks at all ſcruple: on the contrary, vice, inſtead of wearing at Rome a diſguſting appearance, cloked itſelf with all thoſe diſguiſes which could either palliate it or at leaſt render it ſupportable. It ſometimes adopted the language of virtue, and conſtantly wore the maſk of devotion. There, as in almoſt every country where great importance is attached to religious ceremonies and where conſequently they are brilliant and numerous, people thought they had performed their duty as good men and Chriſtians, when they had acquitted themſelves of their external obligations. The Romans, even thoſe of the moſt enlightened claſs, combined the irregularities of vice with the practices of ſuperſtition. In a word, Rome was the true country of modern Phariſees.

At their head marched the members of the Sacred College. Theſe, almoſt to a man, eſſentially vicious from principle as well as inclination, ſaw in the catholic religion three objects very diſtinct from each other—its *morality*, of which the maxims were conſtantly in their mouths, which they never obſerved except on occaſions of publicity and when it required of them no great ſacrifices, and which they boldly violated whenever they were ſure of ſecrecy and impunity;—its *dogmata*, which they profeſſed in public with fanatic emphaſis, but which they laughed at in private;—its *diſcipline*, for the maintenance of which they would have ſet the univerſe in flames, provided they could themſelves eſcape the ravages of the conflagration. To render their conduct a complete practical ſyſtem of depravity, nought was wanting except ſcandalous notoriety: but, inſtead of that, hypo-

criſy

crify cloſed the black liſt. There now were no longer to be found any real Tartuffes * except in one ſpot of Europe: that ſpot was Rome; and thoſe Tartuffes were the cardinals, and the candidates for the cardinalitian dignity. Of the three vows by which they were bound, they were faithful to the obſervance of only one—the vow of obedience; but it was that ſervile obedience which invites the hand of deſpotiſm, and affords a ſufficient apology for its oppreſſions. Under a vain grimace of affected humility they concealed all the refinements and lofty pretenſions of pride. With reſpect to the moſt difficult of all the Chriſtian virtues, it is well known how they practiſed it: that ſex which is called indiſcreet was not the only one at whoſe mercy their ſecrets lay: and, in this particular at leaſt, they bore a ſtrong reſemblance to thoſe Cæſars whom they had ſucceeded.

This mixture of preſumptuous ambition and feigned humility, of external decorum and internal corruption, of apparent ſuperſtition and ſecret incredulity, had ſtamped on all their Eminences a peculiar character by which it was impoſſible not to recogniſe them. Their words, their looks, their features, every thing about them was falſe. Habituated from their early age to diſſimulation and diſtruſt, they ſuſpected each other, gueſſed at each other's thoughts, but never betrayed their own. Reſembling in many particulars the *haruſpices* † their predeceſſors, they differed from them in one, which was that they did not laugh on meeting each other. Hence the difficulty of defining a prince of the Roman church: hence the diverſity of features under which they have been generally pourtrayed, and the diverſity of characters under which they have been alternately ſeen to act.

Such models might well be expected to find imitators. Being the channels through which moſt favours flowed, the organs through which moſt applications were made, and all poſſeſſing a certain ſhare of influence, it was na-

* *Tartuffe* is the name of an arch-hypocrite in one of Molière's plays.

† Soothſayers who pretended to foretell future events from an inſpection of the entrails of victims.—Cato the Cenſor, who himſelf belonged to the board of augurs, ſaid he was ſurpriſed that a haurſpex could refrain from laughing whenever he ſaw one of his brethren. Cicero, de Divin. ii. 24.

tural that they ſhould be ſurrounded by clients intereſted in pleaſing them: and to pleaſe it was neceſſary to reſemble them. Accordingly, by progreſſive degrees, all the Romans formed themſelves after the example of the cardinals, with ſuch differences only as a more or leſs refined education might be expected to place between them. In other countries the court take the *ton* from the ſovereign: here the college of cardinals was the ſovereign; and all Rome copied the pattern which they ſet. Among thoſe copies, it is true, there were ſome hideous caricatures: the likeneſs extended in gradation even to the populace, who leſs adroit in the art of diſſimulation, knew not how to indulge in depravity without giving ſcandal, and united ſuperſtitious credulity and unaffected fanaticiſm with the coarſeſt irregularities of vice, ran from the temple to the tavern, and paſſed from the adoration of a Madonna to debauchery and aſſaſſination.

All claſſes, all profeſſions, were infected by the contagion of thoſe corruptive principles: the only exceptions to the general rule were a few individuals of the great Roman families, who were peculiarly favoured by nature, ſome men of letters, and ſome artiſts—

Rari nantes in gurgite vaſto.

It was now no longer by heretics alone that Rome was termed the modern Babylon: every thing there was venal: in civil affairs juſtice was adminiſtered with partiality: in thoſe of a criminal nature, with an indolence which was miſtaken for humanity. Crimes were neither watched, nor prevented, nor puniſhed. The police was reſtleſs without vigilance: its vile agents, the *ſbirri*, were a horde of ſpies and robbers, more likely to increaſe than prevent diſorder in a moment of critical emergency. All the ſprings of the adminiſtration betrayed that want of tone and vigour which is the ſure precurſor of approaching diſſolution. The government often ſhowed obſtinacy, but never true firmneſs; duplicity on all occaſions—on none, genuine policy. Feebleneſs was conſpicuous in all its meaſures; and the national want of ſpirit was diſcoverable even in the commiſ-

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ſion of crimes. Compoſed of ſuch elements, the Roman ſtate muſt unavoidably have been, as experience has proved that it was, eaſy to be overturned, difficult to be again reared from its fall.

Notwithſtanding ſo many defects, this government would have been or at leaſt would have appeared ſupportable, if the finances and every thing connected with them had been better adminiſtered—if proviſions had been more plenty and leſs dear. But even the firſt principles of political œconomy were unknown at Rome. Still, however, ſome improvement might have taken place if the modern Romans had imitated the conduct of their anceſtors, who copied the wiſe inſtitutions of their Tuſcan neighbours. But they did not follow that example: they ſaw near their frontiers the ſtate of Tuſcany proſpering under a ſyſtem diametrically oppoſite to that which long cuſtom had conſecrated among them; and they conducted themſelves as if they thought that the promiſed immutability of the church were connected with that of their adminiſtration.

On a former occaſion we have ſpoken of the Apoſtolic Chamber, and of its defective organiſation. On it in great meaſure depended the finances; and their ruined ſtate bore teſtimony to its want of ſkill. The evil, it is true, might be traced back to the pontificate of Sixtus V. whoſe ambitious enterpriſes had begun to involve the chamber in debt. He had borrowed nearly ten millions of Roman crowns, of which he expended one half on aqueducts, obeliſks, embelliſhments. The other moiety he had depoſited in the caſtle of Saint Angelo, as a reſerve appropriated to the purchaſe of corn in times of ſcarcity. He had at the ſame time endeavoured to eſtabliſh a ſinking-fund: but his plan was not followed; and the public debt had increaſed under his ſucceſſors. Some of them, however, had proved that the diſorder might be remedied by a prudent œconomy. Clement XIV., for inſtance, had, in five years, ſaved above a million and half of French livres. But Pius, inſtead of treading in Clement's ſteps, diſplayed ſuch ſtately pomp, and engaged in ſuch expenſive ſchemes, that the grievances of the people were accumulated and

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their menacing murmurs were heard even in the firſt years of his pontificate.

The Eccleſiaſtical State poſſeſſed none of thoſe reſources which can furniſh prompt and efficacious remedies. Its commerce was almoſt entirely paſſive, except ſome exportations of wine and oil—that of corn when the harveſt was good in the provinces waſhed by the Adriatic ſea—that of wool and ſilk, which were almoſt entirely ſent out of the country inſtead of being manufactured at home. Its induſtry, as we have already ſeen, was next to a nullity. The balance of trade was wholly to the diſadvantage of the Romans, who muſt in a ſhort time have been entirely exhauſted of their ſpecie, if the *datario* and the chancellery had not drawn back a part of it from the different catholic countries of Europe. But what theſe two offices received was not ſufficient to ſave the treaſury from debt; ſince from them was derived a part of the cardinals' incomes, together with the ſalaries of that hoſt of perſons employed in expediting briefs and bulls. It was difficult to aſcertain the total of thoſe tributes, equally diſgraceful to thoſe who received as to thoſe who paid them; but there is reaſon to think that in 1788 the aggregate revenues of the *datario* and the chancellery ſtill amounted to two millions four hundred and thirty-five thouſand Roman crowns. Such nearly was the ſum of ſpecie which flowed into Rome to ſupply the place of that which was drained away by the numerous importations from foreign countries. Excluſive of this, the Apoſtolic Chamber received between fourteen and ſixteen millions of livres ariſing from certain lands belonging to it, from the farming of certain taxes paid by the *communes* of the Eccleſiaſtical State, from the taxes on butchers' meat and on corn entering the city of Rome, from the produce of a lottery, and from the duties on the importation of foreign commodities. But from theſe revenues were to be deducted nearly five millions and half which were paid in intereſt by two public banks founded by the government; and the expenſes were ſo little proportioned to the receipts, that in 1787 the former exceeded the latter by near a million and half of French livres.

In any other ſtate, ſuch a deficiency would have been eaſily

eaſily ſupplied ; but the Roman government was as barren in contrivances as in reſources. Its conduct was like that of old bachelors, who pay little regard to the intereſts of their heirs. In the papal territory were ſome very rich land-owners whom it was neceſſary to treat with delicacy, but very few capitaliſts. The great maſs of the people poſſeſſed only precarious means of ſubſiſtence, and were ſupported either by their own labour, by the liberalities of travellers, or by alms from the monaſteries. Could ſuch a government have even the appearance of credit ? The only mode, therefore, by which it could provide for the exceſs of the expenditure, was the creation of paper-money—a ruinous mode, when the government which adopts it has no ſecurities to offer, nor any fund for redemption—a mode, which in the end cannot fail to inflame the diſcontents of the people to the utmoſt. Accordingly the improper uſe made of it by Pius was the chief motive by which the Romans were diſpoſed, if not to take an active part in deſtroying their exiſting government, at leaſt to ſtand unconcerned ſpectators of its overthrow.

That paper-money however bore no intereſt. It conſiſted of bank-notes, which were called *cedole*, and which ſerved for all payments above the ſum of ten crowns. Even in the firſt years of Pius's pontificate, they were at a diſcount of five per cent. Workmen's wages had riſen, proviſions likewiſe were become dearer, in proportion to that loſs ; and the evil became ſtill worſe in proceſs of time. It was in great meaſure his work ; and that was the principal ground of the people's hatred to him ; for that is the ſpecies of oppreſſion which they bear with the leaſt patience.

There was nothing in the other branches of the adminiſtration which could reconcile the Romans to Pius. We have ſeen him conſtantly ſurrounded by obſcure and fanatical adviſers, and almoſt invariably ſhunning the counſels of his rigid friends. He did not repoſe his confidence in any of thoſe who, by their ſituations or their talents, were entitled to it : and, without pronouncing too harſh a judgment on him, it may with truth be ſaid that he neither knew how to govern nor ſuffer himſelf to be governed. To be convinced of the truth of this

this aſſertion, it is ſufficient to take a view of his conduct toward the different cardinals who ſucceſſively held the principal poſt of miniſtry under him—that of ſecretary of ſtate.

Having been raiſed to the pontificate chiefly by the influence of the courts of Verſailles and Madrid, he accepted from their hands, much rather than ſelected by his own choice, the cardinal Pallavicini, who had, to the laſt day, been his moſt formidable competitor. He kept on good terms with him becauſe he was connected with the court of Spain by means of the duke de Grimaldi his couſin-german: but he never entertained for him either friendſhip or confidence. Pallavicini felt a ſecret propenſity in favour of the Jeſuits; and that was perhaps his only point of co-incidence with the pope. They were both obliged to conceal that propenſity, and even to adopt meaſures which were oſtenſibly in oppoſition to it: but even here they were not always in accord. The cardinal, more calm and cautious, ſought to avoid even the appearance of an offence to the catholic courts; while the pontiff, impetuous and obſtinate, was more ready to commit errors than to repair them.

Thus they lived nearly ten years in a relation which was reciprocally diſagreeable. More than once, Pallavicini, convinced of the inſufficiency of his efforts to pleaſe the capricious pontiff, wiſhed to retire from his ſtation. But France and Spain were as well ſatisfied with him as his limited influence would allow: they were certain at leaſt that he was incapable either of doing or adviſing miſchief: their miniſters therefore preſſed him to continue in office; and he yielded to their perſuaſions. After having drunk deep of the cup of mortification and diſguſt, he languiſhed for ſome time, and at length died on the 24th of February 1785. Bernis and Azara perſonally regretted him, becauſe he was good-natured, compliant, and well-intentioned: yet they could not forbear ſaying to each other, "He has been uſeleſs "to us, and we have cauſed his misfortune."

It was chiefly on this account that they forbore to interfere in the choice of a perſon to ſucceed him. The public voice deſignated five candidates—the young cardinal

dinal Doria, who had been nuncio in France, and had there rendered himſelf an object of affection ;—cardinal Garampi, who poſſeſſed gentleneſs of diſpoſition and manner, and enlightened underſtanding, and erudition, but whoſe health was feeble, whoſe attachment to the Jeſuits was much too notorious, and who, for that and ſome other reaſons, would not have been agreeable to the court of Spain ;—cardinal Zelada, of whom we have often already ſpoken, and whom we ſhall more than once again have occaſion to mention ;—cardinal Archetti, who had conducted himſelf with ſufficient prudence during his nunciature in Poland, but whoſe talents did not riſe above mediocrity, and who had a propenſity to thoſe petty Italian *fineſſes* which often prove more dangerous than uſeful, eſpecially in ſuch circumſtances as thoſe in which the papacy at that time ſtood. His chief merit was his connexion with cardinal Antonelli one of the moſt enlightened members of the Sacred College, who had removed from the minds of the French and Spaniſh courts the prejudices which they had conceived againſt him during the embaſſy of Monſieur Aubeterre, but in whom, nevertheleſs, they did not yet repoſe entire confidence.—The fifth candidate was the prelate Sylva, a man not deſtitute of talents, but who was not yet ſufficiently known.

Of theſe five candidates, two alone, Doria and Archetti, fixed the attention of the pontiff, who for ſome time heſitated between them and the cardinal Buoncompagni. Reſpecting this delicate choice, he conſulted Bernis, without whoſe approbation he was ſenſible that he ought not to determine ; France being at that time the power with which it was moſt incumbent upon the Holy See to keep on good terms, and the prudence of cardinal de Bernis, the French miniſter, inſpiring the pontiff with ſincere eſteem for him. Pius compared and diſcuſſed with him the advantages and diſadvantages that would attend the election of each of the three cardinals whom he had in view. " I know," ſaid he to Bernis, " that the " firſt would be agreeable to your court ; but he is yet " very young. He may have a knowledge of foreign " affairs : but is he equally acquainted with thoſe of the " home department ? Beſides, I do not know whether

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" his temper and mine would agree: and at my age I can " no longer offer myſelf violence each moment by acts " of virtue." He then avowed that the cardinal Archetti appeared to him the fitteſt man for the miniſtry, as well on account of his character as of his capacity; that, of all thoſe who might be propoſed, he would be the moſt agreeable to him; " but," added his holineſs, " he is " not rich enough. He is, beſides, a Venetian; and " the conduct of his republic toward me has not been " ſuch as ſhould induce me to afford it that gratifica- " tion." Hence it appears that Pius was capable of harbouring reſentment, but that ſometimes at leaſt he was ſincere.

At length he came to the third of thoſe whom he had in contemplation—the cardinal Buoncompagni, whom he knew to be eſteemed by the two miniſters whoſe goodwill he wiſhed to preſerve, and of whom Joſeph II. had conceived ſo favourable an idea during his laſt viſit to Italy. Buoncompagni had long been legate at Bologna, where he diſplayed conſiderable talents and great firmneſs. In that miſſion however, he had made ſome malcontents. The Bologneſe had a peculiar government of their own, which was a mixture of ariſtocracy and democracy; and they enjoyed ſeveral privileges, of which they were jealouſly tenacious. The legate had oppoſed the kind of independence in which they wiſhed to maintain themſelves with reſpect to the Holy See: he had laboured to humble their grandees, under pretence of reſtoring to the people their legitimate authority: but the people had of themſelves perceived, or by the ſuggeſtions of others were taught to ſuſpect, that this tender concern for their intereſts aroſe purely from his wiſh to ſubſtitute, in the Bologneſe territory, the deſpotiſm of prieſts to that of the nobles.

Theſe were grievances of which the remembrance was not obliterated by the real ſervices which he had rendered to the country in draining part of its marſhes and rendering them ſuſceptible of cultivation. Even thoſe very ſervices were ſubjects of blame in the eyes of his cenſors, becauſe the legate had not been able to undertake thoſe uſeful works without increaſing the debts of the province by ſome millions of crowns. It was even

aſſerted that he had enriched himſelf during his legation; and the Bologneſe conſidered as the fruit of his extortions that wealth which he diſplayed among them in the indulgence of a ſcandalous luxury. Whether thoſe reproaches were well or ill founded, it certainly cannot be denied that Buoncompagni had hitherto ſerved the court of Rome with great zeal and ſucceſs, and given proofs of an extraordinary capacity: and theſe conſtitute the ſtrongeſt claims to the gratitude and eſteem of a deſpotic ſovereign.

But to Pius perſonally he appeared liable to very ſerious objections; and the pope did not conceal them from the cardinal de Bernis, but told him that he was ſomewhat afraid of Buoncompagni's haughty unbending diſpoſition, and that it muſt be a painful taſk to be obliged to conduct buſineſs with the miniſter of that character. He nevertheleſs intimated his readineſs to ſacrifice his perſonal feelings for the ſake of making a choice which ſhould be agreeble to the catholic ſovereigns and uſeful to the Eccleſiaſtical State.

Although Bernis did not diſſemble his attachment to cardinal Buoncompagni, to whom, ſince his return from Bologna, he had given ſtrong teſtimonies of regard, he did not chooſe to force the will of the pontiff; and his court, as well as that of Spain, determined that Pius ſhould be left at perfect liberty to make his own choice. The miniſters of thoſe two courts would have been pleaſed, in caſe of Buoncompagni's excluſion, to ſee one of the four following cardinals elevated to the prime-miniſtry—Zelada, reſpecting whom their ſentiments had never varied—Negroni, whom they had ten years before wiſhed to raiſe to the papacy—Conti, who had ever been agreeable to the crowned heads on account both of his character and his principles—and Palotta, who, notwithſtanding his blunt and almoſt rude manner, was univerſally conſidered as the moſt honeſt man in Rome, and one of the moſt enlightened. But they knew that none of the four was likely to prove acceptable to the pontiff, with whom they did not co-incide in principle.

Pius, uninfluenced by any external impulſe, continued near four months in ſuſpenſe reſpecting the choice of his ſecretary

ſecretary of ſtate. Buoncompagni was of too haughty a temper to ſeek to fix the wavering mind of the pontiff, who, on the other hand, was not ſorry to prolong the uncertainty. Meanwhile the management of buſineſs was intruſted to the miniſtry of ſubordinate agents who cautiouſly avoided to thwart his will. At length, after much deliberation, the eſteem which he could not withhold from cardinal Buoncompagni, the deſire of making a choice which ſhould prove agreeable to France and Spain and eſpecially to cardinal Bernis, and the need in which he ſtood of a firm and enlightened man to repreſs the mal-contents of Rome, prevailed over his repugnance; and before the expiration of June, he notified to the miniſters of the court of Verſailles, Madrid, and Vienna, that he had choſen the cardinal Buoncompagni for his ſecretary of ſtate.

This new miniſter had, on his firſt entrance into office, ſome very critical affairs to conduct: that of the nuncios in Germany—the diſputes between the Holy See and the court of Naples, which were then riſen to their higheſt degree of warmth—the arreſt of the cardinal de Rohan, of which we ſhall ſpeak in another place—ſoon made him regret his legation at Bologna, where he had found a greater facility of acquiring fame and of doing good. Beſides, it was not long before he ſaw a hoſt of enemies ariſing againſt him. Of theſe, one who took the leaſt pains to diſguiſe his enmity was the pontiff's own nephew, who had for a conſiderable time been in expectation of the cardinal's hat, and had obtained it ſhortly after Buoncompagni's inſtallation. On this occaſion he received marks of affectionate regard from all the diſtinguiſhed characters in Rome; and thoſe teſtimonies of affection were at that time ſincere; for he was univerſally beloved. About the ſame period his uncle appointed him ſecretary of the briefs, an office for life, which conferred on him great privileges.

Buoncompagni took the alarm on beholding ſo many favours conferred upon a man by whom he knew himſelf not to be viewed with the eyes of friendſhip. He ſaw moreover that the nephew was eager to trench upon his rights, and to form a counterpoiſe to his influence: whereupon he teſtified his uneaſineſs to the pontiff, who

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assured him that he had his entire confidence—he meant, no doubt, all the confidence which he was capable of reposing in any man. Pius at first treated Buoncompagni with greater cordiality than had been expected; and the latter exerted sufficient command over his temper to prevent its being productive of any of those scenes which the pope himself had apprehended. This transient good understanding was chiefly attributable to the cares of the cardinal de Bernis, who himself thought it would be durable, and congratulated himself on it as his own work. He was pleased to see Pius consult his secretary of state, and—what was more wonderful—follow his advice. He imagined that a reformation had taken place in the pontiff's mind; and in the year 1787 he wrote to his court, "Pius begins to feel that statesmen are more necessary "to him than theologists."

The influence of Buoncompagni's temperate prudence was particularly discernible in the conduct of the Roman court at the period of the attempts made by the bishop of Pistoja. Pius concealed his vexation on beholding that prelate so formally wage war against the Holy See, and his joy on witnessing his defeat. During the ministry of Buoncompagni, the quarrel with the Neapolitan court continuing to acquire additional animosity, he thought that a personal interview would more powerfully operate to effect a reconciliation than the mediatory offices of the best-chosen agents. Accordingly he went to spend a month at Naples, where, though his presence did not produce all the effect which he had expected, at least he succeeded in preventing that explosion which any other person might perhaps have accelerated

He justly appreciated the value of that frivolous tribute to which Pius's vanity annexed such consequence. He saw that bubble dissipated under his ministry, without feeling any other regret for the loss than what was occasioned by the mortification with which he saw Pius affected. Through his hands passed all the reclamations, demands, protests, and long memorials, by which the court of Rome hoped to bring that of Naples to a greater degree of deference for the Holy See. He had clearly foreseen how inefficacious all his means would prove toward accomplishing the desired object: but a circumstance

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ſtill more unpleaſing to himſelf perſonally, was that theſe diſcuſſions in which he was the organ, expoſed him to the riſque of incurring the ill-will of that court whoſe friendſhip he for powerful reaſons wiſhed to cultivate. His family poſſeſſed very conſiderable eſtates in the dominions of the Neapolitan monarch, and, among others, the principality of Piombino, which alone yielded an annual income of above two hundred thouſand livres. His friends had long continued urging him to quit a poſt in which he did not enjoy a degree of authority ſufficient to compenſate the embarraſſments in which it involved him, the dangers to which it expoſed both himſelf and his relatives. For ſome time he reſiſted their ſolicitations.

Thoſe who have had a cloſer acquaintance with cardinal Buoncompagni, judge him with leſs ſeverity than Gorani has done. According to their deſcription, he was a man of underſtanding and honour, who felt the ambition of an exalted ſoul—that of rendering ſervice to his country at the ſame time that he laboured to acquire fame for himſelf. Notwithſtanding ſome marks of affection from Pius, he ſoon diſcovered that it would be impoſſible for him to gain the pontiff's entire confidence, without which he never could accompliſh that laudable object. It was refuſed to him in every thing which concerned the affairs of the home department. Toward the commencement of the year 1789, his family even excited his apprehenſions leſt, unknown to him, an accommodation ſhould be negotiated between the pope and the court of Naples. His diſguſt became each day more viſible; and it acquired additional ſtrength from the appearance, at that period, of a work publiſhed in France, under the title of "Critical and impartial Reflexions on the Revenues and "Contributions of the Clergy in France, or Extracts "of Letters written in 1780 and 1787 to his Eminence "the Cardinal Buoncompagni Ludoviſi, by the Abbé "de M. . . . ." This publication was the prelude to an attack made in that ſame year on the French clergy. The cardinal was more than aſtoniſhed to find himſelf preſented to the public as concerned in diſcuſſing a queſtion of a nature ſo delicate for the Holy See: and he proteſted that he had had no intercourſe whatever with the author,

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whoſe principles he was far from approving. It almoſt invariably happens that we only confirm ſuſpicion by the warmth of our efforts to repel it. Thus it fared with the cardinal in this inſtance: his enemies interpreted his proteſtation in their own way, and congratulated themſelves on the importance which it gave to the French abbé's publication, beyond what it had poſſeſſed even in France.

Theſe various motives impelled Buoncompagni to form the reſolution of retiring. He communicated his intention to his friends Bernis and Azara. "I am determined," ſaid he, "to reſign the miniſtry: but I will "do it nobly, without uttering a complaint, and eſpe- "cially without aſking any remuneration." Thoſe two miniſters laboured to diſſuade him from his purpoſe: "he poſſeſſed," they ſaid, "the public eſteem, even "that of the pope, if he did not enjoy his entire confi- "dence: he was agreeable to the crowned heads; and "in the criſis with which the Holy See was threatened, "ſuch a man as he was neceſſary. Beſides, how could "he diſpoſe of himſelf in retirement? accuſtomed as he "had been to buſineſs, he would feel himſelf overpow- "ered by the burden of unemployed leiſure."

For ſome time Buoncompagni yielded to the ſolicitations of his friends. The pontiff was no doubt informed of his intention, and of the diſſatisfaction which had prompted it: he affected to teſtify a more than uſual regard for him, and even conferred on him a favour of no ordinary kind by appointing one of his near relatives governor of the caſtle of Saint-Angelo, an office which was uſually reſerved for the pope's nephews. But Buoncompagni was a man whoſe reſolutions were not eaſily ſhaken. He gained certain information that his interpoſition was eluded in the negotiation with the court of Naples: he entered into a warm explanation on the ſubject with the pontiff; he upbraided him with his myſterious ſecrecy, and with the confidence which he repoſed in a certain Neapolitan prelate who had not the confidence of any body elſe.

Pius, not chooſing to ſubject himſelf to the reproach of having cauſed the retirement of ſo valuable a man, and being awed by the energetic character of the cardinal, uſed diſſimulation with him, and liſtened to his complaints

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with an appearance of intereſt: but Buoncompagni did not miſtake the pontiff's real diſpoſition, and now more ſtrongly than ever felt the impropriety of continuing in the miniſtry.

Almoſt every year Pius paid a viſit to the Pontine marſhes. On the eve of his departure he ſaw cardinal Buoncompagni make his appearance: "It is time," ſaid "the latter, "that I frankly enter into an explana- "tion with your holineſs. I accepted the miniſtry "which you offered to me, becauſe I hoped, that, aided "by your confidence, I ſhould be able to perform its "functions with honour. My expectation has been diſ- "appointed: my health is injured: my ſtrength is no "longer adequate to the taſk which I have undertaken. "Obſtacles of every kind concur in rendering it each "day more difficult to me. It is a duty which I owe "to your holineſs, a duty alſo to myſelf, to reſign a poſt "in which I cannot be ſerviceable."

Pius appeared aſtoniſhed and even afflicted by his determination, which he combated with the tone of ſincerity, with the accents of friendſhip. "No!" ſaid he: "you ſhall not abandon me in the midſt of the critical "circumſtances in which I am placed. Come to me at "Terracina: we will there diſcuſs the motives of your "reſolution; and I hope it will not be proof againſt my "arguments, and eſpecially my ſolicitations."

Pius imagined he had ſhaken the cardinal's purpoſe: but Buoncompagni was not haſty in forming his determinations; and when once they were formed, it was difficult to make him alter them. On this occaſion he had conſulted nobody: and it was not till after the above explanation that he communicated the affair to Bernis and Azara, who now plainly perceived, from the ſtep which he had taken, and from their knowledge of Pius's temper, that no hope of accommodation any longer remained. Another circumſtance moreover contributed to increaſe the diſguſt of the cardinal ſecretary of ſtate, and to render it invincible: that was the influence which the prelate Ruffo had acquired.

We have already explained the nature of his claims to the pontiff's good-will. Pius wiſhed to repay to him the ſervices

ſervices which he had formerly received from the cardinal Ruffo his uncle. He promoted him to that office which affords the ampleſt ſcope for doing good or doing miſchief—the poſt of treaſurer to the Apoſtolic Chamber, from which he had removed the honeſt cardinal Palotta, to make room for a man who combined amenity of manner and brilliancy of talents with depravity of morals and inſatiate avidity. Ruffo was callous to all ſcruple whenever there was queſtion of gratifying the pope's wiſhes, and enriching his nephews. Thus it was that he had gained a preponderancy, to which every thing muſt yield, every thing in fact did yield, except the noble pride of the cardinal Buoncompagni, and the auſterity and frankneſs of the Spaniſh miniſter, the chevalier Azara.

The latter, who was in the habit of telling the pope ſuch bold truths, and of telling them often with ſucceſs and ever with impunity, ſpared no pains to prevent that fatal aſcendency which the prelate Ruffo was daily acquiring. What motive could he have had to repreſs his zeal? He expected no favours from the pope; and he ſpoke in the name of one of thoſe ſovereigns whoſe friendſhip Pius felt himſelf the moſt intereſted in preſerving. The Spaniard recollected that it was to him the pope's nephew was indebted for the title and dignity of a grandee of Spain: and Pius did not ſeem ſufficiently to remember that ſervice. Azara took advantage of all theſe circumſtances to attack the various diſorders which had, eſpecially of late years, made an alarming progreſs. The pontiff liſtened to him with apparent deference, yet followed the ſuggeſtions of his flatterers. The chevalier Azara, at length convinced of the inefficacy of his remonſtrances, tried during ſome time to forbear grating his holineſs's ear with their unwelcome importunity.

Azara's coolneſs alarmed Pius, who could ſhow ſufficient ſuppleneſs of diſpoſition whenever intereſt or fear rendered it neceſſary. The latter unboſomed his uneaſineſs to the cardinal de Bernis, who had kept himſelf at a diſtance ſince the time when he had ſeen that, in ſpite of his counſels, the court of Rome was hurrying on to its own deſtruction. But Bernis was of a temper to be eaſily brought back: he did not reſiſt the flattering

careſſes of the pontiff: he exerted himſelf to diſſipate the clouds which had ariſen between him and the chevalier Azara. The pope, who well knew the influence which that miniſter enjoyed in the Spaniſh court, again turned to him, loaded him with civilities, and affected to ſeek his advice on occaſions of difficulty. At this period he had formed the project of increaſing the already ſcandalous opulence of the duke his nephew by making to him a ceſſion of the duchy of Caſtro and Ronciglione. Azara had ſpoken his ſentiments on the ſubject with his uſual ſeverity: and the pope dared not, for the preſent, venture to carry his deſign into execution.

But, in every other reſpect, the aſcendency of Ruffo was uncontrolable. Buoncompagni, whoſe intentions were upright and whoſe principles were thoſe of a ſtateſman, ſaw that it would be vain for him to ſtruggle againſt ſuch an antagoniſt; and this was one of the chief motives which confirmed him in his reſolution of retiring.

The gout, to which he was ſubject, prevented him from repairing to Terracina: and Pius, on his return from the pontine marſhes, found him, as he had left him, determined on quitting the miniſtry; a determination which no doubt gave the pontiff ſecret pleaſure. He now ſaw that he ran no riſque in renewing his ſolicitations, and therefore again entreated the cardinal not to abandon him. "You complain of your health," ſaid he to him feelingly. "Well, then! be attentive to it: take "all the time neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh it. Go breathe "a purer air: try ſome ſalutary baths: I pledge you "my word that I will do nothing material in your ab- "ſence without conſulting you."

Accordingly Buoncompagni ſet out for the baths of Vicenza. He there remained ſome months, leſs employed in the re-eſtabliſhment of his health than in the compoſition of a long memorial againſt his antagoniſt Ruffo. Reflexion, and retreat which is ſo favourable to it, only confirmed him in his reſolution. Notwithſtanding the hypocritic entreaties of the pontiff, he perceived that the impreſſion, made on his holineſs's mind by the explanation which had taken place between them, ſtill continued and would long continue with unabated

abated force. In September 1789, he ſent in to him his reſignation, to which Pius replied in honorific terms that ſerved as a cloke to palliate his ſpleen and vexation. The ex-ſecretary did not longer than ten months ſurvive his diſgrace; for ſuch was the light in which he conſidered his retirement, though on his part voluntary.

The breaſt of Buoncompagni panted with inordinate ambition. It has been aſſerted that chagrin haſtened the period of his exiſtence—an aſſertion which, if true, would prove in him a weakneſs of mind very far from compatible with what the world knows of him, with his uncommon energy of character, his robuſt conſtitution, and that imperturbable inſenſibility which is perhaps neceſſary in a ſtateſman, but which his cenſurers have conſidered in him as a very grievous fault. Envy has not ſpared his memory: Gorani has attributed to him many defects, and even vices; but thoſe who have had a nearer view of his conduct judge him with leſs ſeverity. He certainly did not poſſeſs either the humility, or eſpecially the chaſtity, of a Chriſtian. But the cardinal de Bernis and the chevalier Azara, who had better opportunities than Gorani of appreciating him, never thought that his talents were but ſuperficial.

The period of his retirement was that when the Holy See was beginning to ſuffer the moſt formidable attacks from France. A miniſter of Buoncompagni's character, equally prudent as he, but enjoying greater authority, would then have been very neceſſary to the Roman pontiff. The Sacred College contained no cardinal of that temper: thoſe who poſſeſſed any capacity, either were viewed with very ſuſpicious eye by the catholic powers, or would have been unacceptable to the pope. The miniſters of France and Spain again propoſed the cardinal Zelada, whom they had invariably eſteemed, and againſt whom Pius foſtered no prepoſſeſſion.

Zelada, as we have already ſeen, was adroit and inſinuating. In peaceable times he might have been a fit perſon for the pontiff's choice: but his character, naturally void of energy, was moreover infeebled by age and infirmities. He was at this period ſeventy-two years old: he was himſelf ſenſible of his own inſufficiency, and alleged it, in objection, to his two friends and even

to the pope: he yielded however to their ſolicitations, but ſoon repented of his compliance. If he had confined himſelf to the ſame ſphere in which he had hitherto moved, as the enlightened protector of the arts, librarian of the Vatican, director of the Pio-Clementine Muſeum, he would, in ſpite of the calumnies of his enemies, have continued to be the object of public eſteem, the conſpicuous Roman individual with whom foreigners of all claſſes were the moſt anxious to be acquainted, and with whoſe behaviour they had the greateſt reaſon to be ſatisfied. But he yielded to the deluſive ſuggeſtions of tardy ambition: his reputation ſuffered a partial eclipſe when he attempted to ſuſtain a character not ſuited to his caſt: the man of letters, the man of ſcience, the man of amiable diſpoſition, was forgotten: the only light in which he was now viewed was that of an incompetent miniſter. Thus he exchanged his peaceful and eaſy enjoyments for the ſtorms of the miniſtry, and for thoſe chagrins which embittered his declining years. He ſuffered the preparatory ſteps to be taken for overthrowing, and even by his own injudicious meaſures accelerated the overthrow of, that government over which he had the vanity to preſide. A witneſs of the firſt diſaſters of the Holy See, he poſſeſſed neither ſufficient firmneſs nor ſufficient ſkill to either prevent or alleviate them. He had the mortification of hearing them imputed to himſelf, and of finding none but cenſurers among his own countrymen, and implacable adverſaries among the French, among that very nation which hitherto had never mentioned his name but in the language of encomium and admiration.

But his ſhort and inglorious miniſtry is connected with the French revolution; and, before we conclude this work, it is proper that, in recounting the misfortunes of which that event was productive to the Holy See, we complete the picture of Pius's pontificate by preſenting a retroſpective ſketch of his connexions with France previous to that epoch which proved ſo fatal to him.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXIV.

Connexions between France and PIUS VI. *down to the Revolution in* 1789.

IT muſt ever be conſidered as a ſingular event in the hiſtory of the court of Rome, that the nation which effected at leaſt its temporal deſtruction, was preciſely that particular one among all the European nations of which it had before had the leaſt reaſon to complain. While Spain, in her implacable animoſity againſt the Jeſuits, haraſſed Pius whenever he betrayed the ſlighteſt ſymptom of partiality to them, the court of France, it is true, co-operated with her as in a common cauſe: but it was eaſy to perceive that this was done rather through complaiſance to an ally than from any ſenſation of perſonal uneaſineſs. The danger of the defunct ſociety's intrigues, which appeared ſo imminent to Spain, made little impreſſion on the miniſtry at Verſailles. In France, Fanaticiſm had ſhrunk back in retrogade motion before the light beaming from the torch of Philoſophy. Some members of the ſuperior clergy occaſionally endeavoured to aid the former in recovering her loſt ground: but they experienced little ſupport or countenance; and the decrees of public opinion ſuperſeded the neceſſity of any which the court might have iſſued. The pretenſions of the prieſts, which

which at the commencement of the century had ſtill continued to cauſe ſome alarms, were now treated with ridicule by the bulk of the nation, and no longer excited any uneaſineſs in the breaſt of government. The devotees alone viewed the clerical order with a ſort of religious awe; but devoteeſhip was now confined to the obſcure claſſes of the community, and its profeſſors had ceaſed to be formidable. There were few enlightened or powerful men who really felt the devotional ſpirit; and thoſe who did not had no intereſt in affecting it. Religion was therefore inſenſibly loſing its ſway; no more of it was preſerved than what was neceſſary for the ſupport of the royal authority. Its miniſters, even thoſe of moſt exalted grade, unſcrupulouſly reſigned themſelves to the indulgence of all the worldly paſſions, and did not even take the trouble of aſſuming the maſk of hyprocriſy. There now hardly exiſted between the Gallic and the Roman courts any relations except thoſe of habit and courteſy: and, as the former had no longer any thing to fear from the latter, neither did ſhe ſeek to be feared by her. Accordingly we ſee, that, from the firſt year of Pius's pontificate until the year 1789, very few diſcuſſions of an intricate nature took place between France and Rome.

Will it be believed that one of the firſt objects which occupied the attention of the cardinal de Bernis under the new pontificate was the reſearch to be made in France for the diſcovery of proofs to eſtabliſh the ſainthip and atteſt the miracles of "the bleſſed queen Joan de Valois," firſt wife to Louis XII. and founder of the order of the Annunciation, who had been beatified by Benedict XIV. in the year 1743? Solicitations had long been made by the court of France for her canoniſation: and it was a cardinal, once a courtly abbè, the voluptuous author of the "Four Parts of the Day," and an amiable philoſopher, who did not diſdain to be the agent in this momentous negotiation! But the buſineſs involved one of thoſe chimeras on which were founded the ſplendor and power and opulence of the church; and, to promote ſuch important intereſts, even the moſt enlightened and otherwiſe honeſt men made no ſcruple to render themſelves the organs of impoſture.

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This was not the only diſgraceful tie by which France was at that time connected with the court of Rome, and continued ſo connected until the memorable æra of the revolution. It is ſufficiently known that the biſhops, the abbots, the holders of thoſe benefices which are termed *conſiſtorial* becauſe the nominations to them were proclaimed by the pope in a conſiſtory of cardinals, were obliged to pay for the iſſuing of the bulls without which they could not take poſſeſſion ;—that an office called the *datario** had the charge of iſſuing them ;—and that the fees which it required of the perſon promoted, were, by the *concordatum* of Francis the Firſt, fixed at one year's income of the benefice. It is true, an abatement was moſt commonly obtained on the eſtabliſhed price of the bulls : Clement XIV., naturally diſintereſted, had been very accommodating in compromiſes of that kind : but Pius, at the very outſet, ſhowed himſelf more rigid in his demands : and what will appear very ſtrange, he really fancied himſelf bound in conſcience to act with that ſtrictneſs. Thus, by a moſt extraordinary ſubverſion of the principles of that religion which in its very infancy had ſo formally forbidden ſimony, the heads of the catholic church had carried the prohibited practice to ſuch extent that they at laſt became ſcrupulous of not being as ſimoniacal as it was poſſible ; and the ſage Bernis himſelf, when directed, on each change of benefices, to ſolicit a diminution of the amount of that ſcandalous tax, was not far from participating thoſe ſcruples. He felt a ſort of compaſſion for that *unfortunate* Roman treaſury, which theſe re-iterated ſolicitations tended to impoveriſh : and he more than once wrote to Verſailles, when deſired to preſent a new petition, that it was " begging alms of the " poor."

Bernis, however, was in ſome reſpects excuſable. He poſſeſſed in the court of Rome a certain influence, of which he gave frequent proofs—an influence which, under the yoke of ſlavery that ſtill preſſed on us in many inſtances, he wiſhed to reſerve for objects of higher importance ;

* The *datario* was rather the perſon at the head of the office in queſtion.

portance; and he was afraid of exhauſting it by applications which official avidity could not receive otherwiſe than with repugnance. Beſides—though we do not offer this as an additional argument in his juſtification—he was as cardinal-protector, perſonally intereſted in ſeeing that ſource of revenue ſecured from diminution. This requires ſome explanation.

Since ſo degrading an inſtitution has been aboliſhed, never more to appear, it is not a matter of indifference to learn by what ſophiſms covetouſneſs compounded with pride in the catholic church.

The ſalaries of the cardinals-protectors had no connexion with thoſe payments known by the name of *annates*, and ſanctioned by the *concordatum*. The king did not allow them any penſion from his treaſury: but, as they were appointed to ſolicit the iſſuing of the bulls, and to propoſe in the conſiſtory the candidates for thoſe abbeys and biſhoprics to which the king had the nomination, they received, at the expenſe of the perſons promoted, a fee equivalent to the penſion which might have been allowed to them. It was a kind of aſſignment which the king, their debtor, gave to them on the income of the benefice which he had been pleaſed to confer.

When thoſe who had been nominated to conſiſtorial benefices wiſhed to have the honour of being propoſed by the pope himſelf in the conſiſtory, that they might the ſooner gain poſſeſſion, they paid two different ſums called *propine*, the one for the pope, the other for the cardinal-protector.

But, when the latter was directed to propoſe for benefices, the bulls were not iſſued until after two formalities had taken place. He was firſt obliged to proclaim the candidate in a previous conſiſtory; then, in a ſecond, to make the formal propoſition of the conſiſtorial benefice to which the pope had nominated. Thus the candidate loſt as much in point of time as he gained in point of œconomy: for in this caſe he had but one *propina* to pay; but then, on the other hand, he had to wait ſometimes ſix months for the iſſuing of his bulls. In either event, the cardinal-protector was ſure of receiving his *propina*: and, after all, he was, under that pompous title, nothing

nothing more than an agent employed by his nation in eccleſiaſtic and beneficiary affairs, and particularly thoſe of which the deciſion was confined to the conſiſtory.

From theſe details it muſt evidently appear that the cardinal de Bernis was perſonally intereſted in preſerving the revenues of the Holy See. The ſingle article of the *propine* annually yielded to him, on an average, from twenty-four to thirty thouſand livres. He was not greedy: but the high ſtyle in which he was rather accuſtomed than obliged to live did not allow him to be perfectly diſintereſted. It was therefore always with a ſort of repugnance, though always with ſucceſs, that he applied for abatements: and this was during ſeveral years his moſt important employment, and the only contrariety he experienced at Rome.

We ſhall but ſlightly mention the oppoſition in 1775 by the French clergy to the project of uniting the uſeleſs order of the Antonines with that of Malta. Louis XVI. had already agreed with Pius on that buſineſs; the briefs which the pontiff was to iſſue were prepared; when ſuddenly the French prelates, animated by laudable zeal for what they termed the intereſts of the church, addreſſed very urgent remonſtrances to the pope on the ſubject of the intended union. We will not trouble our readers with a detail of the erudite theologic arguments by which they endeavoured to awake ſcruples in the breaſt of his holineſs: it will be ſufficient to obſerve that Pius found himſelf very much embarraſſed on the occaſion, and thought it his duty to ſuſpend the iſſuing of the briefs, and appoint a congregation to examine that queſtion of ſo un-important a nature. He ſeriouſly ſaid to Bernis, who liſtened to him, conſoled him, encouraged him, and ſometimes ſcolded him, "That meaſure is in-"diſpenſable, if I wiſh to avoid expoſing myſelf to "reproach or remorſe." The court of Verſailles thought proper to allow him time for reflexion.

The pope, already ill adviſed, gave to the bull of incorporation a new form which diſpleaſed our miniſtry, who teſtified their diſpleaſure with conſiderable warmth: and this was perhaps the only time previous to the revolution, when France aſſumed toward him a menacing tone. Vergennes wrote to Rome—"Let them not

"drive

" drive us to extremities: let them not force us to recol-
" lect the diſtinction, already ſo well known, between
" religion and politics.—Tell the pope," added he—
" make him thoroughly ſenſible—that impunity is not to
" be expected in ſporting with a king who is the firmeſt
" pillar of the pontifical throne."—Vergennes had not an idea that he was uttering truths which would ere long be felt in their fulleſt force.

This pitiful affair chagrined the pontiff, whoſe mind was already tormented by more than one ſubject of uneaſineſs. It cauſed ſuſpicions to fall on his friend, one of the principal authors of his elevation, the cardinal Giraud, to whom the miniſtry at Verſailles attributed the impertinent modelling of the bull, and whom they accuſed of ingratitude. The cardinal de Bernis was ſenſibly hurt by the imputation: he bore a friendſhip to cardinal Giraud: he defended him with warmth, and, what was not uſual on his part, in a ſtyle bordering upon harſhneſs. He intimated that encouragement was too incautiouſly given in France to thoſe philoſophic maxims which, though good in themſelves, might, in their application, involve the overthrow of religion, and, in ſucceſſive gradation, that of many prejudices which it was important to preſerve. This was certainly very natural language in the mouth of a courtier and a cardinal; but at the ſame time it proves that Bernis was endued with a ſagacity of which that period furniſhed few examples, and a foreſight which he has himſelf ſeen juſtified by ſubſequent events.

But this firſt ſtorm was diſſipated: the pope yielded; and the incorporation of the order of Saint Antony was effected in the mode that we had wiſhed. The French clergy, who ſtill thought themſelves poſſeſſed of ſome ſtrength, were not diſcouraged by this failure of ſucceſs: two years after, they thought proper to remonſtrate with the pope on his condeſcenſion for our government: they founded the alarm on occaſion of the ſuppreſſion of ſome monaſtic orders. Pius already knew what he had to expect from an attempt to thwart a powerful ſovereign whoſe ſupport was neceſſary to him. He felt or feigned to feel a fit of anger againſt thoſe prelates who ſeemed diſpoſed to dictate to him. He expreſſ-

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ly ſaid that " their reproaches, however reſpectfully " conveyed, contained notwithſtanding a leſſon which " did not ſuit him." If he had always received their ſuggeſtions in the ſame manner, he would have ſaved France and himſelf from many calamities.

If we except theſe tranſient diſputes, and the quarrels reſpecting the Jeſuits, in which France made a common cauſe with Spain, the firſt eight or ten years of Pius's pontificate paſſed with every mark of deference on his part to the French government. Whenever there was queſtion of any demands of a critical nature, he was careful to compoſe his congregations of thoſe cardinals who were the leaſt inclined to raiſe difficulties, and the moſt diſpoſed to gratify us. This was in great meaſure the work of Bernis, who was his counſellor, his comforter, and very rarely his cenſor. Accordingly, in 1782, the cardinal ſpoke of Pius in the following terms —" His virtues are more numerous than his defects; " and, in his heart, he is a Frenchman."—Louis XVI. and Pius VI., in obſerving this mutual forbearance toward each other, ſeemed to have a preſentiment that the time would come when each ſhould ſtand in need of the other's aid: but they certainly did not foreſee how fatal that harmony would prove to both parties at a time when it was no longer in ſeaſon.

There reigned, then, an almoſt conſtant good-underſtanding between the courts of Rome and Verſailles, when an incident, of as ſtrange appearance to the one as to the other, for ſome time interrupted it—an incident which was very far from being unconnected with the French revolution, and conſequently with the ſubverſion of the papacy—I mean the famous proſecution of the cardinal de Rohan—that tranſaction which ſeemed preconcerted for the expreſs purpoſe of at once covering with ignominy the higher order of nobility, the prieſthood, and the throne, and to ſerve as a pretext and an apology for the attacks which were ſoon after made upon them.

We will not here recall to our reader's memory the part of that ſhameful complication of imprudence and meanneſs which excluſively concerns France; our nation has already been too long fatigued and ſhocked with

with the detail of the particulars: it is our duty to recount in this place the part only which relates to the Holy See.

The intelligence of the cardinal's having been arreſted even in his pontifical robes was a thunder-ſtroke to the pope and the whole Sacred College. Pius felt himſelf deeply hurt that it had not at leaſt been formally notified to him by the king: he nevertheleſs ſpoke of it to the cardinal de Bernis in the language rather of grief than of indignation: but he frankly owned to him that if the arreſt was followed by judgment, it would be impoſſible for him to avoid recurring to the obſervance of the canonical rules.

Notwithſtanding the philoſophy of his principles and the moderation of his temper, Bernis at times recollected that he was a prince of the church; and, on important occaſions, he warmly ſupported the pretended rights of the body to which he belonged. He ſent information to his court that the meaſure hinted by the pope was unavoidable, if the cardinal de Rohan's trial was carried before a ſecular tribunal without the intervention of the Holy See and of the biſhops delegated by it. The cardinal's relatives and friends had been apprehenſive leſt Bernis ſhould ſhow himſelf adverſe to him, becauſe they thought he foſtered prepoſſeſſions againſt the Rohan family. But they were little acquainted with his diſpoſition. Bernis was neither rancorous nor vindictive: he eſpouſed the cauſe of his unfortunate collegue with the zeal of a generous man, and at the ſame time with as great moderation as could be expected of a cardinal.

The pope, on his part, though on other occaſions ſo fiery and ſo impotent of his firſt emotions, conducted himſelf in this affair with greater circumſpection than could have been ſuppoſed. One would have thought that his ſoul, ſoftened in the ſchool of adverſity, was become more inclined to reſignation. Expoſed to ſo many contrarieties, he ſaw that government with which he had hitherto had the leaſt reaſon to be diſſatisfied, ready, like the others, to inflict a wound on the immunities of the Holy See. He ſaw the danger that he incurred by alienating the French court: he therefore endeavoured only to mollify and diſarm it. But it was

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ſignified to him from Verſailles that he ought carefully to avoid meddling in that affair, or renewing the pretenſions of the ancient pontiffs. This indirect menace deeply afflicted him: the friendſhip of Bernis now became more neceſſary to him than at any former period: he unboſomed his thoughts to him without reſerve: "Write," ſaid he, "that the king will find in me a diſpoſition to "remove every difficulty and to afford him ſatisfaction: "but I expect from his piety ſome attention to the Holy "See. I will not make any ſtir, I promiſe you: but "can I refuſe to protect the rights of the Sacred College "—rights which are ſecured even by the *concordatum*? "Confeſs that the queſtion is a queſtion of delicacy. "Well! I will propoſe it to a congregation of ſix cardi-"nals. Their opinion ſhall be prudent and temperate, "or I will not follow it. I was urged to iſſue without "delay a ſolemn brief aſſerting thoſe rights of which an "infringement is attempted. Perhaps I ought to do ſo: "but—no!—I will content myſelf with writing a con-"fidential letter to the king."

If the prejudices of education could have been excuſed in Pius, together with thoſe of his country and ſtation, even Philoſophy herſelf would have pronounced this language to have been proper. But how is it poſſible to reconcile with philoſophy, with the principles of any good government, the pretenſion of a prieſt, whether a native or a foreigner, who thought himſelf authoriſed to interfere in the trial for an offence purely temporal? Could a *concordatum*, wreſted by inſolent power from the hand of weakneſs in an age of ignorance, be paramount to thoſe eternal laws on which reſts the independence of a ſtate? Such are the remarks which might have been made even by a catholic, if he retained the ſlighteſt notion of juſtice and reaſon. Pius appealed to Louis's *piety*, for the purpoſe of gaining a triumph for his own maxims: but people began to perceive, that according to the ideas of the Holy See and its ambitious ſupporters, piety was nothing elſe than a blind devotion to the will of the head of the church. Beſides, *piety* was at that moment entirely out of the queſtion at Verſailles: the object in view was to gratify the vengeance of a woman who wore a diadem: and to that grand intereſt every other conſi-

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deration muſt ſilently yield, and yielded in effect. But that was a circumſtance of which the court of Rome either were or affected to be ignorant.

While things were in this ſituation, the cardinal de Rohan hoping to mollify his enemies by reſignation, or to experience greater indulgence from a tribunal to whoſe equity he had voluntarily intruſted himſelf—had ſubmitted the examination of his cauſe to the parliament of Paris. This ſtep was a new ſource of mortification, a new cauſe of embarraſſment, for the Sacred College, who ſaw what they termed *their rights* betrayed by one of their own members. The pope, as he had intimated to Bernis, had appointed a congregation whoſe opinion he ſhould take on the momentous queſtion of which the determination gave him ſuch uneaſineſs. He had compoſed it of ſuch cardinals as at that time bore the higheſt character for moderation—Albani, dean of the Sacred College;—the grand penitentiary, Boſchi, conſpicuous for prudence, though he had ſigned the famous monitory againſt the duke of Parma;—Borromeo a ſingular character, but a man of great mental talents, and profeſſing moderate principles with reſpect to the crowned heads;—Doria, formerly nuncio in France;—Negroni, who had invariably been agreeable to France and Spain;—and Buoncompagni, at that time ſecretary of ſtate.

The unanimous opinion of this congregation was, that the pope ſhould write two letters, the one to his Moſt Chriſtian majeſty, the other to the cardinal de Rohan; that, in the former he ſhould repreſent, that, purſuant to the *concordatum*, cardinals and biſhops were to be tried at Rome; that in the latter, he ſhould reproach the cardinal de Rohan with a violation of his oath in acknowledging as his judges the members of the parliament of Paris.

Pius acted in conformity to the opinion of the congregation. His language to the king was tender and almoſt ſuppliant. "I pray your majeſty," ſaid he, "that the "cardinal de Rohan's cauſe may be carried before a com- "petent judge, whom I will delegate in concert with "your majeſty. I hope you will imitate your predeceſ- "ſors by affording me the very great conſolation of ſee- "ing, that under your government, the rights of the "church

" church are preſerved, while, to my great affliction, " they are elſewhere trampled under foot in various " ways," &c.

The king's miniſters, without going to the bottom of the queſtion, without even conteſting the ridiculous privileges claimed by the court of Rome, anſwered that every man was at liberty to renounce his privileges, and that this was what the cardinal de Rohan had done. The letter itſelf met with an indifferent reception. Bernis was obliged to undertake its apology. According to his repreſentation, " the pope could not, without incurring " general obloquy at Rome, without diſhonouring him- " ſelf in the face of the church, have been ſilent on the " occaſion. Beſides, had not the peers and the mem- " bers of parliament their peculiar judges, from whoſe " tribunal they could not be debarred? It was leſs poſſible " for the pope to refrain from acting in the buſineſs, as " the aſſembly of the clergy had themſelves ſet the exam- " ple of appealing to Rome."

It was thought ſomewhat ſtrange at Verſailles that the cardinal de Bernis ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be ſo far led aſtray by the ſpirit of his order as to maintain ſuch indefenſible pretenſions. " Tell the pope," ſaid the miniſtry in their letter to him, " that our kings have never al- " lowed their hands to be tied up in that reſpect when " the affairs are, whether cloſely or remotely, con- " nected with ſtate cauſes; that the cardinal's offence " has no relation to his epiſcopal character; that the " king could not give him a greater inſtance of indul- " gence than by allowing him a choice of the mode in " which he wiſhed to be tried."

Such arguments as theſe were not likely to meet a welcome reception at Rome. The cardinal de Rohan's cauſe was ſupported there much rather becauſe it was connected with the immunities of the church, than through any intereſt that was felt for him. On the contrary, the pope in particular was very angry with him for having thus lowered the dignity of the Roman purple: he was even ſomewhat hurt by the light unconcerned manner in which the cardinal, when writing to him the firſt time, propoſed to him a perſon to ſucceed him in his epiſcopal functions which he could no longer perform. The ob-

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ject in view (it was ſaid at Rome) was to ſave the honour not of His Eminence who was now irretrievably degraded by his own conduct, but of the church.

The pope however had no ſucceſs with the court of Verſailles. In vain were his complaints clothed in moderate and ſupplicating language: their object was appreciated with that philoſophic ſeverity which had pervaded all claſſes of ſociety and even the government itſelf. It was intimated to Pius that he ought to avoid reviving the ancient diſcuſſions, that even his own intereſt ſhould point out to him the propriety of abandoning the cardinal de Rohan, ſince ſo few people in France were inclined to favour the pretenſions of the clergy. Such was the purport of the anſwer which Louis XVI. returned to the pope. The congregation of cardinals were again conſulted, and gave it as their opinion that the pope ought to write a ſecond letter, which, without being leſs pathetic than the former, ſhould contain, in favour of the claim of the Holy See, thoſe *ſo concluſive* arguments that were to be found in the ſacred canons. Pius was at all times diſpoſed to rely on the efficacy of ſuch a remedy: nor had his affair with the emperor yet cured him of that notion. He therefore ſat down to compoſe, not ſo much a letter, as a theologic diſſertation, which was hardly read in the public offices at Verſailles.

Throughout Europe, the affair of the cardinal de Rohan was viewed under all its various aſpects. Different opinions were entertained; different pretenſions were advanced. Bernis, diſplaying the character of a courageous ſtateſman rather than of a fanatic canoniſt, adviſed that this ſhameful buſineſs ſhould be huſhed in ſilence, to avoid involving the queen herſelf in a ſhare of the diſgrace. But the counſel came too late. The cabinet of Madrid regretted that an obſcure intrigue ſhould make ſo much noiſe, and propoſed the adoption of ſome meaſure of conciliatory compromiſe. The emperor viewed the cardinal de Rohan as a prince of the holy Roman empire: he aſſerted his own rights as head of that empire, and would not conſent that the pope ſhould pronounce ſentence without his concurrence. The elector of Mentz claimed his rights over a prince who, as biſhop of Straſburg, was his ſuffragan. The diet of Ratiſbon

Ratiſbon advanced his pretenſions to take a part in a cauſe in which a ſtate of the empire was concerned. But the parliament of Paris had the cauſe in their hands; and all the claims advanced were ineffectual. Bernis, however, returned to the charge: he extolled the pontiff's moderation. "Let people beware!" ſaid he. "They "invite dangers, they will cauſe an exploſion, if they "treat the Holy See with too little reſpect. By dint of "oppoſition they may yet render it formidable." And, aſſuming, for the concluſion of his harangue, the florid ſtyle of his youth, "Is it not better," ſaid he, "to "yield to the cooing of the dove, than to expoſe them-"ſelves to the ſcreams of the exaſperated eagle?"—But what an *eagle* was Pius at this period! Ah! if he had always thought proper to confine himſelf to his *dovely* character, he would have ſaved France and himſelf from numerous calamities.

The French government, however, had at this time no cauſes of complaint againſt the court of Rome. It was ſenſible that the pontiff was only acting his part as was natural: it combated his pretenſions, but without acrimony. Vergennes wrote that all the vile particulars of that affair were wholly unconnected with the precepts of the goſpel. The king himſelf returned to the pope's erudite homily a pathetic but ſtrongly negative anſwer: "Let not your holineſs make renewed ſolicitation," ſaid he: "for I cannot avoid renewing my refuſal." And farther on—"We feel how juſtly your holineſs is "affected by the ſituation in which ſtands a biſhop, a "member of the Sacred College: but we pray you to "conſider that we ourſelves are not free from uneaſineſs "on occaſion of this ſtrange event. Beſides, the cardi-"nal himſelf has made choice of the tribunal by which "he is to be judged: to remove the cauſe at preſent to "any other were an inſtance of fickleneſs which would "only furniſh additional matter to employ the tongue of "ſcandal."

Pius found himſelf in a very perplexing ſituation: for while France exhorted him not to meddle in that affair, the *zelanti* at Rome accuſed the cardinal ſecretary of ſtate, Buoncompagni, of having inſpired him with too great "indifference and remiſſneſs" in his conduct. This in-

juſtice brought him over to the maxims of moderation: and he aſſured the court of Verſailles, that, without liſtening to the ſuggeſtions of fanaticiſm, he would content himſelf with preſerving the honour of the Holy See, and taking meaſures to prevent the diſgrace of the cardinal de Rohan from reflecting on the whole body of cardinals.

The Sacred College ſhowed themſelves leſs accommodating, even with reſpect to the cardinal de Rohan. They ſeriouſly ſaid to the pope, "We will rather reſign "our hats* than ſhare our dignity with a man who "ſhould be declared guilty of fraud, forgery, and theft." In their private converſations, they ſpoke of their *unworthy* collegue in terms equally bitter. "Why," ſaid they, "ſhould we retain in our body, hitherto ſo illuſ-"trious and reſpected, a brother become infamous in "the eyes of all Europe, and who would be expelled "from his regiment if he were a ſoldier?" The generality of them would have wiſhed, that, immediately when the order was iſſued for arreſting the cardinal de Rohan, the pope had deprived him of his hat. Pius would have ſuffered himſelf to be led to that ſtep, if Bernis had not diſſuaded him. He awaited the opinion of the congregation of cardinals reſpecting the mode of conduct which it was proper for him to adopt: and they decided that the pontiff ought, in full conſiſtory, proviſionally to ſuſpend the grand-almoner of France from all the functions peculiar to the cardinalate, until he ſhould exculpate himſelf to his holineſs; that he ought next to give notice of this meaſure to the king of France, and alſo to the king of Poland who had propoſed him as a candidate for the cardinalitian dignity.

In conformity to that deciſion, the pope held a conſiſtory on the 13th of February 1786, and there pronounced a Latin diſcourſe in which the grand-almoner was very ſeverely treated, at leaſt in appearance. Pius expoſed in his harangue the behaviour of the "very in-"conſiderate

* The cardinal's hat, as a diſtinctive badge of the dignity, is ſufficiently known.

" conſiderate cardinal de Rohan*:" he announced the ſuſpenſion of his dignities until he ſhould, within ſix months at fartheſt, appear, either in perſon or by his repreſentative, to exculpate himſelf from the charge of having ſpontaneouſly ſubmitted the trial of his cauſe to an incompetent tribunal. " From that moment," added Pius, " he deſerved to be deprived of all his eccleſiaſtic " dignities, as a ſoldier abandoning the army, ought to be " degraded, expelled from the camp, and deprived of his " military privileges." (The Sacred College and its head appear to have been fond of compariſons drawn from the military profeſſion.) " But at leaſt we cannot avoid " proviſionally ſuſpending him from all the honours, all " the decorations, all the rights, annexed to the cardina- " litian dignity, even from his right of concurring in the " election of a ſovereign pontiff."

Immediately after this oſtentatious ceremony, the pope wrote to Louis XVI. in a very pathetic ſtyle to acquaint him with the motives of his determination: and the Sacred College notified it to the grand-almoner in a letter in which they at once began to put it in execution. In the eyes of his collegues, Rohan was now nothing more than a private individual: they with-held from him thoſe pompous titles which the court of Rome had invented in contempt of Chriſtian humility. They no longer addreſs him as " Your Eminence," or " My Lord Cardinal," but ſimply, " You."

Theſe apparent ſymptoms of anger and ſeverity were, however, nothing more than a cloke under which lurked one of thoſe intrigues ſo familiar to the Holy See. It was diſcovered at Verſailles that the grand-almoner's ſecretary kept up a regular correſpondence with the cardinal dean, and ſome other cardinals, who were attached to the party of the Jeſuits; that they employed the agency of that Victoria Lepri, who was at this time carrying on her famous law-ſuit againſt the pope, and who was in habits of intimate connexion with the Albani. Under pretence of ſupporting the pontifical authority, they wiſhed to prevail on Pius juridically to ſummon the grand-almoner before his tribunal. This was a triumph which they wiſhed to procure for the car-

* " Inconſultiſſimus cardinalis de Rohan."

dinal de Rohan, who had long been ſecretly connected with the principal partiſans of the defunct ſociety, and on whoſe influence an ill-founded reliance was placed at Rome. This was a ſure mode of bringing the pope under the diſpleaſure of the courts of France and Spain. But the plot was diſcovered by the ſkill of the cardinal ſecretary of ſtate, and defeated by his firmneſs. It was however a great point gained by the complotters, to have led Pius to the bold ſtep which he had taken in full conſiſtory. The court of Verſailles wiſhed to have prevented it: but the intimation of that wiſh came too late. Bernis, who had a very embarraſſing part to act, endeavoured to juſtify the pontiff to the beſt of his power; he ſignified in his letter that he had never found him more tractable than on that occaſion; but that it had been impoſſible for Pius any longer to reſiſt the importunities by which he was attacked on every ſide. "Beſides," ſaid the cardinals, of whoſe ſentiments Bernis was the interpreter, "how can you expect us to ſhow ſo great tenderneſs to "one of our collegues accuſed of very grievous offences, "while you treat him ſo rigorouſly at Paris?"

Pius's brief, and the addreſs which had preceded it, cauſed a great ſenſation in France. The brief, although worded with circumſpection, muſt neceſſarily produce the effect of exciting a conteſt on the ſubject of juriſdiction in an affair which was already in the hands of the parliament of Paris. That body even maintained that the brief infringed the liberties of the Gallican church of which they had ever ſhown themſelves zealous ſupporters; and they ordered the defendant to pay no regard to it.

This incident cauſed great perplexity to the cardinal de Rohan and even the pope himſelf. Should the cardinal proteſt againſt the decree of the parliament, he would produce in the minds of his judges an unfavourable diſpoſition toward him: and could the pope overlook the affront offered to him by the public rejection of a brief which he had conceived himſelf authoriſed to iſſue? As the court of France did not at this time entertain unfriendly ſentiments toward the Holy See, they gave a turn to the affair, which prevented all noiſe, without at the ſame time ſacrificing thoſe principles from which they

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would ſuffer no derogation. The pope's brief was, agreeably to the wiſh of the parliament, conſidered as non-exiſtent, but not rejected with the ſame publicity that had attended ſome former tranſactions. With reſpect to the decree of the Sacred College, it was, for form-ſake, delivered to the governor of the Baſtille, with an injunction, however, that he ſhould not forward it to its deſtination.

But this incident awaked the attention of government to the dangerous pretenſion of the foreign cardinals, who affected a dependence on two authorities at the ſame time. "What means," it was aſked, "that oath which "obliges them to maintain the rights, the honours, and "the privileges, of their order? and *againſt whom* are "they to maintain them? Can it be againſt their temporal ſovereign? Such is the interpretation implicitly "contained in the decree of the Sacred College, but "which will never be admitted in France, where it "would be thought better for ever to renounce all idea "of having French cardinals."

Let us obſerve, by the way, that this ſcandalous adventure of the cardinal de Rohan ought, on various accounts, to be conſidered as one of the efficient, perhaps even one of the moſt immediate, cauſes of the French revolution, and that it was at the ſame time one of the ſevereſt blows that could be levelled at the church of Rome. It diſgraced the court, degraded what was called the *royal authority*, and prepared the public mind for a ſevere diſcuſſion of the relations exiſting between the catholic ſtates and the Holy See, and of thoſe delicate queſtions which deſpotiſm, if it had been prudent would have ſuffered to ſleep undiſturbed, eſpecially at a period when progreſſing knowledge led to the examination of thoſe ridiculous prejudices which had no other ſanction than that of their antiquity. How could mankind have retained any reſpect for that Roman church when they beheld the conduct of one of its princes, whom his own imprudence and inconſideration, to ſay nothing worſe, had rendered the tool, the confidant, and at length the deriſion, of a corrupted court? when they ſaw him, amid the infamy with which he diſgraced himſelf, attempt

tempt to retain a remnant of dignity which only ſerved to render more conſpicuous the ignominy of his ſituation.

The cardinal de Rohan had for his friend and confidant a certain abbé Georgel, who, on this critical occaſion, ſerved him with his uſual addreſs, but with an apoſtolic zeal which could not be viewed in any other than a ridiculous light. In a new conſiſtory held on the third of April, the pope had nominated, to perform the functions of the cardinal as biſhop of Straſburg, the dean of the chapter of the cathedral there. The abbé Georgel, who was one of his grand-vicars, affected to impreſs the public with a perſuaſion that the ſuſpenſion of the biſhop's functions was but temporary, and to intereſt the ſenſibility of his flock for their paſtors captivity. In his ſtead he iſſued a mandate by which he permitted in his dioceſe the uſe of eggs during the Lent: and in that mandate he compared the cardinal to the apoſtle Paul "writing "to the faithful from the receſſes of his priſon:" and comparing himſelf to Saint Paul's diſciple Timothy, he expreſſed his hope that people would pay the ſame attention to the diſciple as to the apoſtle. This double compariſon gave riſe to ſeveral ſarcaſms: it was aſked, at Rome particularly, whether any account was to be found in the Acts of the Apoſtles of Paul and Timothy having been implicated in a "necklace" buſineſs. "The "cardinal de Rohan," it was ſaid, "ſuffers, like Saint "Paul, for his exceſs of faith: but is it for the faith in "Jeſus Chriſt?"

The cardinal de Bernis did not indulge in thoſe witticiſms: this unfortunate affair cauſed him various mortifications, and furniſhed him with opportunities of diſplaying his characteriſtic goodneſs and moderation. He knew in what light he ought to view both the diſgraceful trial of de Rohan, and the pretenſions of the Holy See: but, as a courtier, he feared the degradation of the court, and as a cardinal, he felt for the immunities of the church. He had the—courage, will it be called, or weakneſs?—to undertake the defence of that brief which militated againſt our principles. He received an intimation from Verſailles expreſſive of ſurpriſe that a French prelate

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ſhould ſeem to approve maxims which tended to ſecure to the pope a juriſdiction over foreign eccleſiaſtics. Bernis mildly repelled the charge: but, in his anſwer, he ventured to defend "thoſe privileges, which had "flowed from the piety of kings."—"It was permit-"ted," he added, "to exclaim againſt a violation of "them, provided there exiſted a diſpoſition to ſubmit if "the king thought proper to ſuſpend them. At the ſame "time he had no objection to make, nor had the pope "himſelf, to the meaſure which had been adopted.—"With reſpect to the letter written by the Sacred Col-"lege to the cardinal de Rohan, Pius wiſhed above "all things to avoid provoking any diſturbances, but "he could not refuſe to allow that ſtep, urged as he had "been by the ſolicitations and reproaches of thoſe who "felt an intereſt in the dignity of the Holy See."

The court of Verſailles condeſcended to admit his reaſons, and even agreed that it ought to do juſtice to Pius's moderation. For this he was indebted to the influence of Bernis, and the temperate prudence of Buoncompagni. The latter, notwithſtanding the pope's want of affection for him, had ſufficient weight to ſtifle an affair which, at a different time and in other hands, might have produced very ſerious quarrels. Each party aſſerted their pretenſions, but without ill humour. Some ſlight triumphs were gained: none was extorted by force: none left behind it any veſtiges of animoſity. The agents-general of the clergy claimed the immunities of their body in favour of the cardinal de Rohan. This was one of thoſe conſervatory acts which prove nothing, and which do not pledge to any thing.—The internuncio Pieracchi repreſented that his miſſion had entirely failed of its object if the pope's brief and the letter from the Sacred College remained in the hands of the governor of the Baſtille without being ſeen by the cardinal. He was permitted to communicate them to him: for which purpoſe he repaired to the Baſtille, and read them to the cardinal, but without allowing him to take copies of them.

The term of the cardinal's tribulations now approached: in the beginning of June, he was, by a decree of the

the parliament, acquitted of the crime laid to his charge: from which moment all the pretenſions of the Holy See, fell to the ground. But, although the cardinal de Rohan had been acquitted by a court of juſtice, Louis's grounds of complaint againſt him ſtill remained undiminiſhed. He was baniſhed to his abbey of Chaiſe-Dieu, and commanded to reſign the office of grand-almoner.—The Holy See, however, had not the ſame reaſons for continuing its ſeverity after the decree which had declared him innocent: the honour of the Sacred College could deſire nothing further; and the pope, in a conſiſtory held on the 18th of June, re-inſtated him in his cardinalitian dignity. But he could not ſcreen him from ridicule and ſhame, or remove the prejudice which ſuch an adventure excited againſt the whole Sacred College.

This was the only conteſt of a ſerious nature which the court of France had in eleven years with the court of Rome. But the Holy See was doomed to be tormented by all the powers of Europe in their turns: and it was from that which had ſhown it the greateſt tenderneſs, and for which it had teſtified the greateſt regard, that it was fated to receive the moſt violent wounds and at length the wound of death. Such, beyond the Pyrenees, that animal, armed by nature and his own courage*, is ſeen exhibiting to a circus crowded with curious gazers the ſpectacle of a combat in which twenty aſſailants alternately attack him, defy his formidable arms which their dexterity renders ineffectual, briſtle his brawny neck with painful arrows, and make the blood ſtream down his vigorous flanks: his ſtrength is exhauſted: the bell has tolled his laſt hour: the vulgar combatants retire: the *matador* alone advances within the liſts: all eyes are fixed upon him: his eyes are riveted on his victim, whoſe motions he watches, whoſe craft he foils, till at length, uplifting his arm guided by dexterity and nerved with vigour, he ſtrikes, and the victim falls to the ground.

Thus,

* See a deſcription of the bull-fights in any book of travels in Spain.

Thus, during fifteen years, had the enemies of the Holy See ſapped the foundations of the papal throne; and, during that ſtruggle, France had ſtood aloof. At length ſhe appears, and is alone to occupy the ſcene.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Eccleſiaſtic Reforms undertaken by the National Aſſembly of France.

ALTHOUGH the government of France had remained an inactive and ſometimes even a benevolent ſpectator of thoſe conteſts which the court of Rome had hitherto had to ſuſtain againſt ſo many ſovereigns jealous of their temporal authority, the ſenſible part of the nation was nevertheleſs impreſſed with the principles of which thoſe ſovereigns made a tardy application. It was by her hiſtorians, her canoniſts, and eſpecially her philoſophers, that they had been profeſſed with the greateſt energy. It was in her language, which was become the univerſal language of enlightened Europe, that they had been developed and brought down to the level of every mind: and there was not perhaps, during this latter half of the eighteenth century, a country in Europe where men were more tired, than in France, of the pretenſions of the Holy See, more aſhamed of the tributes paid to it by credulity, more ſhocked by the conduct of the prieſts, the opulence of the higher clergy, and that innumerous mob of monks who did not even atone for their inutility by leading an exemplary life.

Among

Among the ſuperior claſſes, who alone had any influence on the government, a perfect unanimity of opinion and of wiſhes prevailed reſpecting thoſe abuſes. But to reform them was no eaſy taſk. Although the reaſon of every enlightened man called for their abolition, there were numbers, and theſe not the leaſt powerful, who were intereſted in their preſervation. Louis XV., amid the diſorders of a ſottiſh life, had retained a ſort of mechanical devotion. A certain inſtinct taught him that his own power was connected with that of the church: he did not wiſh that it ſhould become his rival: but he was not ſorry to ſee it reign under him and for him. His ſucceſſor, who felt a much more genuine devotion, had inherited the ſame maxims. Beſides, under both reigns, the clergy, who conſtituted one of the three orders of the ſtate, and even the only one which conſtantly had a kind of organiſation, ſtood as watchful ſentinels around the throne, and by their ſupport repaid the ſupport they received from it, whenever their own immunities did not come in colliſion with the regal authority.

A few ſparks of philoſophy had even reached a part of that order, who were called the ſuperior clergy: and by theſe prelates much more ambitious than philoſophical, certain reforms had long ſince been projected; but they were ſuch as, while they diminiſhed the prerogatives of the Holy See, were to increaſe the power of thoſe projectors. They did not wiſh a rupture with the pontiff, whom they conſidered as the centre of catholic unity: but neither did they chooſe to live in ſervile dependence on him. They were ſufficiently perſuaded, for inſtance, that to the ſpiritual authority belonged the right of granting marriage-diſpenſations; but they thought themſelves competent to grant them. They participated the general wiſh reſpecting the multiplicity of convents and the enormity of their wealth: they wiſhed to purify and thin the ranks of that numerous hoſt of eccleſiaſtic militia, but not entirely to diſband it. Reduced within proper bounds, they thought it uſeful for the defence of the church, and even, in a certain degree, contributory to their own conſequence, as their vanity took a pleaſure in contemplating that hierarchy of which themſelves occupied the moſt elevated grade. Thus they were not averſe

averſe to reforms: on the contrary, they wiſhed for them —not yet aware, that, in treading that ſlippery path, one has not always the power of ſtopping where he chooſes. Nay, even among the lower clergy, who were the objects of their diſdain, there were men more clear-ſighted than they with reſpect to the common intereſts of the whole eccleſiaſtic body.

Long will be remembered the anſwer given by a monk to Monſieur de Loménie, ſince a cardinal—an anſwer which under the ſhape of a trifling play of words, contained a ſtriking prophecy which ſubſequent events have ſo fully accompliſhed. Monſieur de Loménie, at that time archbiſhop of Toulouſe, was preſident of the board of commiſſioners appointed by the clergy to promote the reformation of the monaſteries. Converſing one day on his plan with a monk who did not entirely co-incide with him in opinion, and who to the beſt of his power defended the cauſe of his brethren, the archbiſhop inſiſted, and peeviſhly ſaid, "Yes! 'tis a determined point: it is abſolutely neceſſary to reform this *monkery* *." —Take care!" replied the other: "after the *monkery*, they will proceed to the *prieſtery*, and at length, my lord, to the *biſhopry*."

But the ſuperior clergy were connected by too many links with the throne, and thought their exiſtence too ſecure, to admit of ſimilar preſentiments. Beſides, how could they foreſee the concatenation of events which were ſoon to verify them? With an almoſt philoſophic courage, therefore, they purſued that kind of Reformation which was not likely to reach themſelves. The court of Rome began to be alarmed at their proceedings in the year 1787, the period when the papacy ſuffered the moſt painful wounds from all quarters except France. The French clergy were aſſembled in one of thoſe periodical meetings where they determined the amount of the contributions which they ſhould pay to the king under the denomination of a free gift; and they had manifeſted a diſpoſition to attempt the ſuppreſſion of certain abuſes. The pope was on the point of addreſſing to them a monitory

* *Moinaille*, a contemptible mob of monks: *prêtraille* and *mitraille* (here endered *prieſtery* and *biſhopry*) are words of ſimilarly contemptuous import, coined from *prêtre* a *prieſt*, and *mitre* a *mitre*.

nitory letter to divert them from thoſe innovations which were gaining ground in ſeveral ſtates. He communicated his intention to the cardinal de Bernis, who combated it with that aſcendency which he always poſſeſſed over Pius, and which increaſed on critical occaſions; and he ſucceeded in perſuading his holineſs that the meaſure was "at leaſt uſeleſs."

In fact, our government was now in its turn entering the career of reforms alarming to the Holy See. We had obtained the ſuppreſſion of the order of Celeſtines in France: during the courſe of the ſame year, 1787, we demanded, and in a tone which admits not a refuſal from a weaker power, that the Celeſtines of the Comtat of Avignon ſhould alſo be ſuppreſſed: and, without giving to the pope any notice of our intention, we ſeiſed the property which thoſe monks poſſeſſed in our territory. The court of Rome ſighed at that violent proceeding, and eſpecially at the ungracious manner in which it took place: but they ſighed in ſecret, not chooſing to alienate a government which had hitherto been the protector and comforter of the Holy See. At the ſame time a decree of the privy-council ſuppreſſed the ancient Obſervance * of Cluni: and it was only by the voice of public fame that the pope was informed of the tranſaction! It is true, we did nothing more than exert our juſt rights: but we had not accuſtomed Pius to ſuch mortifications.

Still more poignant was his grief when he firſt received intelligence of an edict tending to meliorate the ſituation of the proteſtants in France. Even cardinal Buoncompagni himſelf, temperate as he was in every thing which did not immediately affect the intereſts of the holy Roman church, viewed that act with the eyes of a catholic prieſt. He did not ſcruple to be ambitious, jealous, avid of glory, to purſue a licentious courſe of life ſo ſeverely prohibited by that religion whoſe welfare was ſo dear to him: he fancied that God was much leſs offended by his irregularities than he would be on ſeeing a period put in France to the perſecution of ſome millions of peaceable ſubjects, who did not think as he thought, but

* Some of the religious orders were ſplit into ſects and parties, the one valuing themſelves on a more rigid *obſervance* of their original rules, than the others. Hence the term.

but who led a ſomewhat more exemplary life. Already he trembled leſt the indulgence ſhould be carried ſo far as to allow them the public exerciſe of their mode of worſhip.

He recovered, however, from his alarm on obſerving that the edict proceeded no farther than granting them the civic character, to inſure the legitimate exiſtence of their children. "But if"—ſaid he to the cardinal de Bernis, who was the more readily diſpoſed to adminiſter comfort to him, as he had ſeemed to participate his apprehenſions—"if, as the report had prevailed, there had "been queſtion of eſtabliſhing in France that toleration "which is ſo much vaunted in an age that calls itſelf "philoſophic, his holineſs could not have avoided oppoſ-"ing to that dangerous innovation his paternal but ener-"getic remonſtrances."

At Rome, however, the pope and his miniſters were the perſons who received with the greateſt reſignation that firſt effort of tolerance: the reſt of the Sacred College were thrown by it into the deepeſt conſternation: and, in the alarm felt by their hypocritic zeal, they would even have voted for ſome meaſure which they might have called vigorous, but which the reſt of the world would have juſtly conſidered as imprudent, and which would have produced no other effect than that of accelerating their downfall. But Pius's moderation checked them. Why ſhould we not do him the juſtice to which he is entitled on this occaſion? Why ſhould we, violating truth under pretence of ſerving the cauſe of philoſophy, render him more odious than he really was? We will aſſert, then—at the riſk of rouſing the indignation of thoſe modern fanatics who inſiſt that their enemy did not, could not, take any ſteps that were not criminal—that Pius acted, under thoſe circumſtances, with as temperate prudence as a *pope* poſſibly could. Not a harſh expreſſion emanated from his pen; not an intolerant piece iſſued from the Roman preſs. The pontiff contented himſelf with writing to the cardinal of Sens, who had juſt been elevated to the poſt of prime-miniſter of France; and the purport of his letter was to congratulate him on his promotion, and to recommend to his care the catholic religion. It is true, he ſaw a ground

of

of confidence in what he termed the "piety" of Louis XVI.: it is true alſo that the cardinal de Bernis uſed all his exertions to keep him within the bounds of moderation: but was there not ſome merit in following a prudent counſel at ſuch a critical moment? That prudence, however, was but tranſient: the influence of the cardinal de Bernis was very far from excluſive: it was often counterbalanced by that of ſome theologiſts equally blind as obſtinate, of ſome lawyers who ſwayed the pontiff by means of that which moſt ſucceſsfully operated upon his mind—by flattery.

At this period the cardinal de Bernis ought to have inſpired the pope with greater confidence in him, becauſe although perhaps he might not internally approve his holineſs's maxims, at leaſt he adopted his language, even when addreſſing his own court. He conjured them to regard, not the pontiff's complaints (he uttered none), but his anxieties. He was himſelf, he ſaid, not far from conceiving ſimilar uneaſineſs: he was afraid the development of the principles contained in the edict relative to the proteſtants would ſhake the foundations of the eſtabliſhed religion in France: then proceeding to notice the Obſervance of Cluni ſo abruptly ſuppreſſed, it grieved him, he ſaid, that France, which had ſet the example of reſpect for the Holy See, had been deficient in it on that occaſion by not inviting the pontiff to concur by a brief in effecting that reform.

But the die was caſt. The French court, though ſyſtematically moderate in its conduct toward that of Rome, was obliged to yield to the torrent of public opinion, which laboured to over-rule the government until able to overturn it. Even the clergy, notwithſtanding the fanatic wiſhes of ſome members of their body, notwithſtanding the intereſted wiſhes of almoſt the whole order, naturaliſed ſome principles of political œconomy amid the prejudices of catholiciſm. They ſuffered knowledge to diffuſe its rays among the people, becauſe they could not ſmother its light with impunity, or without danger to themſelves. They admitted ſome maxims of that toleration whoſe voice was heard by every man of unwarped mind and honeſt heart, in the hope that by making ſlight ſacrifices they might evade the neceſſity of greater and more painful. It was a kind of alliance—or, if you pleaſe,

pleaſe, compromiſe—which they formed with the philoſophers for the purpoſe of diminiſhing the influence of the latter, or at leaſt participating it. But the clerical body, of which one of the principal members had juſt been placed at the head of the miniſtry, found the philoſophers leſs generous, or more perſeverant in the purſuit of their plan, than had been expected. Their firſt ſucceſſes, inſtead of diſarming, inſpirited them with additional courage. The aſſembly of the *notables* was the firſt theatre which exhibited an energetic development of thoſe principles that were deſtined to regenerate France: it was there that the bold ſpirit of reform made trial of its ſtrength; and from that moment our nation muſt have ſeen what it had to hope for, and the court of Rome what they had to fear.

During the interval which elapſed between the period of this aſſembly and that of the ſtates-general, the court, which was already alarmed on its own account, and ſaw that the ſituation of the finances was one of the principal ſubjects on which it would be obliged to anſwer, began an anxious examination of the contributions of various kinds whoſe weight preſſed on the ſhoulders of the people. That which they paid to the court of Rome appeared one of thoſe from which they ought in the firſt place to be relieved. That tribute had long been viewed by philoſophy, and even by rational religion, as ridiculous on the part of thoſe who paid it, ſhameful on the part of him who accepted it. Had it even been moderate, it would nevertheleſs have deſerved thoſe two epithets: but people indignantly exclaimed againſt the enormity of the ſums which annually flowed from France to Rome. Many perſons were perſuaded that they amounted to ſeveral millions: and that idea would have been juſt, if the annats, that is to ſay the entire produce of one year's income, had been ſtrictly paid on each appointment to the conſiſtorial benefices. But, on the one hand, at the time when the *concordatum* was concluded, each of thoſe benefices had, in the table of rates annexed to that treaty, been eſtimated much below its real value; and, on the other, each new poſſeſſor of ſuch benefices almoſt invariably obtained a conſiderable reduction of the ſum which by that valuation he was bound to pay.

The

The following ſummary, taken from the *datario's* office itſelf, will prove how far people were miſtaken in that reſpect.

From the firſt of January 1779 to the end of December 1788, the fees of every kind paid by French ſubjects amounted to the ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand three hundred and ſixty-nine Roman crowns, and eighty bajocchi—about three millions ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſix thouſand nine hundred and thirty-eight livres, fourteen ſols*.

* One hundred and fifty-three thouſand two hundred and five pounds, fifteen ſhillings, and ſeven pence, ſterling.

They

They conſiſted of the following articles:

	Rom. Crown. Baj.	*Livres.*	*Sols.*
For conſiſtorial matters, biſhoprics, abbeys, inſtitutions, unions, - -	446,002 90		
For beneficiary matters, bulls, proviſions, vacancies by deceaſe, co-adjutorſhips, reſignations, indults, ſeculariſations, habitations, diſpenſations, on account of age - - -	58,050 65		
For marriage diſpenſations	177,928 55		
For ſimple copies of deeds and letters of nomination, as fees for anticipated poſſeſſion - - - - - -	18,387 70		
Total	700,369 80	3,676,938	14
Which, taken on an average of years, made the annual ſum of - - - - - - - - -		367,693	17*

During the year 1788, it is true, theſe payments had been heavier than in the preceding years, becauſe the promotions had been more numerous. The ſum would have amounted to a hundred and ninety-eight thouſand four hundred crowns: but the cardinal de Bernis obtained a reduction of it to a hundred and twenty-five thouſand eight hundred and thirteen, or about ſix hundred and ſixty thouſand five hundred and eighteen livres, five ſols†.

Such were the reſults preſented to Louis XVI.'s council in the month of March 1789.

* Fifteen thouſand three hundred and twenty pounds, eleven ſhillings, and ſix pence halfpenny, ſterling.

† Twenty-ſeven thouſand five hundred and twenty-one pounds, eleven ſhillings, and ten pence halfpenny, ſterling.

Although they fell materially ſhort of the idea which had been formed of that tribute, the court nevertheleſs thought that the payment of even ſuch a ſum muſt prove very burdenſome, eſpecially in the exiſting critical ſtate of the finances; and therefore it wiſhed to aſſume to itſelf the merit of ſuppreſſing it. But the cardinal de Bernis ſtood forth as the advocate of the Holy See: he repreſented that it was in purſuance of the *concordatum* that thoſe moderate contributions were paid; that, in affairs of that nature, innovations were dangerous; that he had invariably laboured to obtain as great abatements as poſſible, &c.

The idea of ſuppreſſion had not originated in a fit of ill-will: the French government renounced it for the preſent; and the court of Rome thought a part of its revenues was ſaved. But how great were its alarms, and thoſe even of Bernis himſelf, when they read, in the proceedings of ſeveral of the bailiwicks, violent declamations againſt the *enormous ſums* which France paid for diſpenſations, bulls, &c. Bernis undertook to defend the cauſe of the papacy, not only as a theologiſt, but alſo as a ſtateſman. "They are then ignorant," ſaid he in writing to Verſailles, "that thoſe *enormous ſums* do not "on an average, annualy amount to more than four "hundred thouſand livres *; that the importation of our "ſugars and coffee into the Eccleſiaſtical State cauſes a "return of four times that ſum to France; that all Rome "are clad in our ſtuffs of Lyons; that if the pontiff "were to give to the Engliſh that preference over us "which they ſolicit, and which in a fit of reſentment "he might be induced to grant, we ſhould loſe more "than we could gain by the ſuppreſſion."

Theſe arguments might have appeared plauſible to a court which had reaſon to fear, ſetting the example of reform: but they had no weight with an aſſembly whom the voice of the people imperiouſly commanded to undertake the work of reformation; and the payment of the annats was one of the firſt abuſes removed by the ſtates general.

At the news of this event, a deep and univerſal conſternation

* About ſixteen thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds, ſterling.

ſternation prevailed in the capital of the catholic world. Bernis himſelf, the cool, the moderate, the philoſophic Bernis, could not without extreme difficulty ſubmit to this firſt blow ſtruck at his immenſe revenue. The ſuppreſſion of the annats alone deprived him of between twenty and thirty thouſand livres per annum. That of the tithes ſoon followed, and proved yet more fatal to him. The chief part of his income from the archbiſhopric of Alby, from his priory of La Charité-ſur-Loire, and of his two other abbeys, was in tithes. He bitterly complained of a treatment "ſo unforeſeen "and ſo unmerited," as he aſſerted. "He certainly "enjoyed a brilliant fortune: but all Europe knew in "what manner he had employed it during the laſt "twenty years. Already ſtanding on the brink of the "grave, would he in future have ſufficient for his "own ſupport, after having given bread to ſuch numbers?"

His firſt ſtep was to reform his houſehold.

But theſe complaints of a ſingle individual, however eſtimable he might be in other reſpects, were drowned and loſt amid the loud cries uttered by the Roman court and its dependents. "Behold," ſaid they on every ſide, "the *concordatum* violated, the clerks and ſecretaries "ruined, the pope much worſe treated by France than he "has been by Joſeph II.!" Pius undoubtedly participated thoſe painful feelings: but he had for ſome time ſufficient ſelf-command to refrain from giving them vent. He was on the point of writing to the king a ſuppliant letter: but it was not the king who aimed the ſtrokes that were inflicted on him. Bernis recommended to him reſignation, which himſelf found ſo difficult of practice in his own caſe.

The pope contented himſelf with ordering public prayers for the relief of the neceſſities of the church. He might be pardoned for employing that conſolation: but that was not the only balm of which his wounded boſom ſtood in need. At his invitation Bernis waited on him; he found him in affliction but without weakneſs, full of reſpectful confidence in the aſſiſtance of heaven and the religious diſpoſition of the king of France. The

zelanti, who had leſs faith in thoſe reſources, thought he had others ſtill remaining of a more efficacious nature. They adviſed him to pen a brief in which devotion and theologic erudition ſhould lend each other mutual aid, and in which he ſhould ſpeak a language ſuitable for the head of the church. He reſiſted their ſuggeſtions, and contented himſelf with writing to Louis a ſuppliant and paternal letter, perſuaded that the national aſſembly, already ſo formidable, would not in this inſtance take his conduct amiſs. The ſucceſs of his letter was ſuch as he might have expected: very fortunately for him it produced no effect whatever.

Although meaſures of energy followed each other in rapid ſucceſſion, ſtill however the national aſſembly ſhowed ſome remnant of deference for the head of the church: they wiſhed him to explain his ſentiments reſpecting the reforms which had been made in it. The pontiff deſired a ſecond conference with the cardinal de Bernis. "I will, ſaid he to him, "conſent to the "ſuppreſſion of the annats, ſo far as perſonally concerns "myſelf: but I cannot give a categoric anſwer with-"out the concurrence of the other parties intereſted, "eſpecially the cardinals, whoſe *propine* are founded on "the revenue of the annats." He conſulted the three cardinals who were chiefs of the eccleſiaſtic orders—Albani, of that of the biſhops—Borromeo, of the prieſts—Altieri, of the curates. Theſe cardinals, evidently perceiving that all reſiſtance would be ineffectual, conſented to the ſuppreſſion of the annats, "but without noiſe," added they, "without derogation from exiſting trea-"ties." It is not very eaſy to diſcover what ſalvo they hoped to eſtabliſh by that clauſe. Bernis however exulted in this trifling ſucceſs: but it was the laſt: he had now nought further to expect than misfortunes for the Sacred College and himſelf. He attempted to make interceſſion in favour of thoſe ſecretaries and clerks of the chancellery and *datario*'s office who had purchaſed their employments, and who were neceſſary to us ſo long as there ſhould exiſt any relations between France and the Holy See. . . . . .

But the moſt painful wound had not yet been inflicted.

It

It was given on the ſecond of November 1789, when a decree of the national aſſembly pronounced all the poſſeſſions of the clergy to be national property. This decree excited the indignation of the Sacred College: on Pius its only effect was conſternation; and he ſaid to thoſe about his perſon, "I foreſee great misfortunes: but I "will perſiſt in my ſilence." His ſmall remaining ſtock of moderation was gradually exhauſted by theſe trials His ſecretary of ſtate, Zelada, ſucceſſor to Buoncompagni, was a man of keen ſubtile character: his manner was mild and affable; and he would have filled his poſt with propriety in ordinary circumſtances: but, at ſuch a tempeſtuous ſeaſon as this, his want of energy and genuine dexterity rendered him very inadequate to the taſk. The influence of his moderation, however concurred in preventing the imprudent ſteps which the pontiff might have taken in the year 1789, and from which he forbore. They both ſaid, and their conduct proved their words to be in uniſon with their thoughts, that "by breaking "ſilence in theſe times of agitation and trouble, they "would only increaſe the evil."—Soon, nevertheleſs, ſhall we ſee the pope breaking his ſilence, and augmenting the miſchief which he hoped to prevent.

It is true, the ſtrokes levelled at his antiquated immunities were daily increaſing. Before the concluſion of that year which had already been ſo fatal to him, the king was invited by a decree to forbear nominating to any benefice until the general plan relative to the clergy ſhould be preſented. This was the completion of the cardinal de Bernis' ſorrows; and he was heard mournfully to ſay on this occaſion, "Lo! the cardinal-protector of France "is left without functions and without emoluments!" He had never injured any perſon: he was old and infirm; and it would have been cruel not to pity him: but it is in the very nature of great meaſures ſuch as thoſe by which he ſuffered, to ſtrike at random and without reſpect of perſons.

Hitherto, however, the attacks had been wholly confined to the pope's ſpiritual authority: but the moment was now come when a part of what he called his *patrimony* was to be invaded. Bouche, one of the deputies

ties from Provence, was the firſt to expreſs a wiſh for the re-union of the Comtat of Avignon to the French monarchy.

That petty tract of country had been a ſource of frequent diſputes between the kings of France and the popes. The legitimacy of its acquiſition by the Holy See had remained problematical among hiſtorians, but inconteſtable among the canoniſts. This queſtion, which the French government conſented to leave undecided while on good terms with the pontiff, was decided by overt act whenever it had any cauſe of complaint againſt him. Thus, twice in a ſingle century—the firſt time under Louis XIV., the other under his ſucceſſor—the Comtat had been ſeiſed by France, in whoſe hand this was an effectual mean of chaſtiſing thoſe popes with whom ſhe was diſſatisfied. At the epoch of Clement XIV.'s elevation to the papacy the had been in poſſeſſion of it ſince the time when Clement XIII. had incurred her diſpleaſure by his ridiculouſly fanatic conduct toward the duke of Parma. The long-expected bull, which ſuppreſſed the order of the Jeſuits, was, in 1774, the ſignal of reconciliation, and was ſoon followed by the reſtitution of the Comtat.

From that period, however, the poſſeſſion of it was no longer ſo peaceably enjoyed by the Holy See as it had been in times paſt. The pontiff experienced ſome contrarieties from the tax-farmers, who wiſh edto extend to it the ſale of ſalt: his right to certain tolls was conteſted: in aboliſhing the order of the Celeſtines in France, we maintained that the ſuppreſſion ought alſo to include the city of Avignon; and, as a preliminary ſtep to that effect, we began by ſeiſing the property which thoſe monks poſſeſſed in our territory.

Theſe petty diſputes were affairs of conſiderable magnitude for the Holy See, and particularly for its vice-legate. They prepared the public mind for a revolution. People began to view with impatient eye a ſmall ſtate incloſed within the bounds of a great kingdom, and, by its poſition, often ſerving as the haunt of robbers and affording ſhelter to ſmugglers: they examined more attentively by what title a foreign prieſt poſſeſſed a property

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ty in the interior of France; and doubts were raiſed concerning its legitimacy.

The inhabitants of Avignon and of the Comtat were even at this time divided into two parties. The one—which, it muſt be owned, was the more numerous—bore without murmuring, a yoke which the popes had almoſt always rendered light. They ſaw themſelves on the ſame footing with the natives of France in every advantageous point of view; and, as ſubjects of the pope, they enjoyed ſome privileges which the French did not participate. They were not overburdened with taxes: and in the feebleneſs of the Roman government they ſaw nought but mildneſs.—The others, on the contrary, felt their indignation raiſed by the idea of being enſlaved to a pontiff, and regretted that they were not completely members of a nation which, even under the monarchy, acted a conſpicuous part. Theſe latter had for their adherents all the men of energetic minds, all thoſe whoſe philoſophic penetration could form a juſt idea of prieſtly uſurpation and tyranny, all thoſe whoſe turbulent ſpirit delighted in innovation.

Such were the diſpoſitions of people's minds in the Comtat when the firſt ſhouts of liberty were heard in France. The identity of manners and language, vicinity, and the multiplicity of exiſting relations, produced ſuch effect as muſt naturally have been expected; and the inhabitants were ſoon in uniſon with the reſt of the French. In Auguſt 1789 they already had their national guards: ſoon after, a deputation from Avignon petitioned for the re-union of their city with France. They did not yet ſpeak the general wiſh of their concitizens; but it was now eaſy to foreſee the fate of the Comtat.

As ſoon as intelligence was received there of the motion made by Bouche, the adminiſtration appointed by the pope declared their reſolution of continuing faithful to his holineſs.

Meanwhile, however, the people aſſembled, and, without yet ſhaking off the papal yoke, framed for themſelves a new conſtitution. There, as elſewhere, the public voice was imperious: the vice-legate, to retain at leaſt a ſhadow of authority, wiſhed that this incipient

revolution

revolution ſhould appear to be his work, and gave his ſanction to the new conſtitution. But the court of Rome, who thought themſelves at a diſtance from the danger, were leſs accommodating: in April 1790, a bull arrived at Avignon which annulled all the ordinances extorted from the vice-legate, and prohibited the papal commiſſioners to publiſh them. From that period, Avignon became a theatre of diſſenſions that drenched with blood the beautiful diſtrict of which that city is the capital. The details of thoſe tranſactions belong to the hiſtory of the French revolution; and we will here notice ſuch particulars only as have a direct relation to the pontificate of Pius VI.

His bull had brought to Avignon the ſeeds of diſcord. The vice-legate, no longer thinking himſelf ſafe there, retired to Carpentras, where he proteſted againſt all that had been done.

Meanwhile the French party ſaw the number of their partiſans rapidly increaſing; and on the twenty-ſixth of October the nine diſtricts of the Comtat unanimouſly expreſſed their wiſh to be incorporated with the department of the Mouths of Rhone. Soon after this, the oppoſite party gained a temporary aſcendency. The court of Rome proceeded no farther than intriguing in the Comtat, and had avoided all explanation of its ſentiments reſpecting thoſe innovations which appeared to be deſired by the majority of the inhabitants. Its partiſans, affecting to act as the organs of the entire diſtrict, ſent to the pope a deputation announcing to him that it was the unanimous and earneſt wiſh of the people to adopt the French conſtitution, and conjuring him no longer to perſevere in a ſilence of which the continuation might produce a rupture of the ſocial compact: "but," added the deputies, "if his holineſs accept the decrees of the "French conſtituent aſſembly relative to the civil orga-"niſation of the clergy, the Comtat will remain invio-"lably attached to him, and will immediately declare "any uſurpation of its territory to be *high treaſon againſt* "*ſociety.*"

Pius was too much infatuated with the immunities of the Holy See, and too ill adviſed, to adopt ſuch a *mezzo termine.* A hatred of French principles was become one of

of the dogmata of the Sacred College. The equivocal conduct of the pontiff and of his vice-legate weakened the party who were oppoſed to the union. On revolutionary ground one firſt bold ſtep is ſoon followed by another, eſpecially when the hand of power is at ſuch a diſtance as to leave a confident hope of impunity. The aſſembly of the Comtat declared that they ceaſed to conſider the vice-legate as the pope's repreſentative, and prohited all future applications to him under the penalties of prevarication. They did not however decree an abſolute diſjunction from the papacy, but named three *conſervators*, who ſwore allegiance to "the nation, the law, and the "Holy See."

Avignon, now become the centre of inſurrection, outſtripped the reſt of the Comtat in the revolutionary career. On the ſeventh of February 1791, it celebrated the feſtival of the federation. The archbiſhop and his clergy refuſing to take the civic oath, the *commune* declared the archbiſhop to have forfeited his dignity, and deprived the canons of their prebends. At length, toward the middle of March, the Avignoneſe abrogated the pope's temporal ſovereignty over them, and ſeiſed his revenues. Carpentras ſtill continued refractory, and determined to perſevere in its former allegiance to him.

But the hour was now approaching when the fate of the Comtat was to be definitively determined. The national aſſembly made it the ſubject of their deliberations in the month of April. Bouche proved that there was a plurality of fourteen thouſand votes in favour of the union: Menou, by a diplomatic diſcuſſion, proved the lawfulneſs of the meaſure; and it was voted in ſpite of all the oratory and erudition diſplayed by Maury. But it was not carried into effect without the moſt violent diſturbances, excited by the intrigues of the court of Rome, and which, during all the remainder of the year 1791, rendered the unfortunate Comtat a theatre of horrors.

It may naturally be ſuppoſed that the re-union of the Comtat with France was repreſented at Rome in the moſt odious colours. But the Roman court had not waited for this provocation before they gave the moſt deciſive proofs of their ill-will to the French. Pius's moderation

tion had coſt him too violent an exertion of ſelf-command to be of long continuance. The fear of a revolution ſerved him at firſt as a pretext for perſecuting the individuals of our nation. Whoever was known to be a native of France and not to profeſs principles contrary to thoſe which ſhe had adopted, was branded as a *patriot* —a name which, in the vocabulary of the Roman government, deſignated a man worthy of being impriſoned, baniſhed, or at leaſt ſtrictly watched. That government ſucceſſively paſſed from boldneſs to terror, from deſpotic meaſures to religious mummeries. In Auguſt 1791, it was alarmed by a pretended conſpiracy ſaid to be plotted by the unfortunate priſoners whom it had confined in the caſtle of Saint Angelo. It releaſed them, and ordered them to be conducted out of the territory of the Eccleſiaſtical State.

Caglioſtro's affair was connected with theſe ſuſpicions and perſecutions. After the ſhameful trial on the ſubject of the necklace, that famous impoſtor, having quitted France, and peragrated England, Holland, Switzerland, had ranged through Italy, had ſpent ſome time at Naples, and thence returned to Rome, where he had married Lorenzia Feliciani, who, under the name of Serafina, has been ſeen in France participating his intrigues, his adventures, and his misfortunes. It appears that ſhe was the immediate cauſe of his arreſt. Caglioſtro gave her very harſh treatment: ſhe contrived to eſcape from his tyranny; and as her huſband, who was an enemy to every other worſhip except that of the fantaſtic beings which he cauſed to be adored by fools, had prevented her from profeſſing her religion, the firſt uſe ſhe made of her liberty was to go to confeſſion. She diſcloſed to her ghoſtly director all the dangerous ſchemes of which ſhe was the involuntary confidante and accomplice, and prayed him to denounce them to the government. It was in conſequence of this denunciation that Caglioſtro had been arreſted on the twenty-eighth of December 1789, and immured in the dungeons of the inquiſition. In ſearching his houſe, little money was found; but there were jewels and rich clothes, and among others, ſome Turkiſh dreſſes.

Hitherto

Hitherto nothing had appeared which could afford reaſon for treating him with rigor: but ere long, in different houſes at Rome which he had hired, written proofs were diſcovered of a conſpiracy that he had formed againſt the city, againſt the Eccleſiaſtical State, and againſt the pope himſelf. The tedious examination of his cauſe produced ſuſpicions that he was a partiſan of the "French "principles." The proceedings were long and ſecret, and gave riſe to a variety of conjectures. At length, on the ſixteenth of April 1791, he received his ſentence, by which he was condemned to perpetual impriſonment. His wife, who, as the reward of her information, had been arreſted at the ſame time with him, was ſhut up in a convent. For a while thoughts were entertained of putting him to death: but, for that purpoſe, it would have been neceſſary to have his trial proſecuted to judgment by the Holy Office, and to condemn him for the crime of *ſorcery*. This would have been adding ridicule to horror: and the court of Rome was afraid to put this additional weapon into the hand of philoſophy, which already combated with ſo great advantage. He was transferred to the caſtle of Santo-Leone in the duchy of Urbino.

The world remained ſome time ignorant of the real crimes for which he was puniſhed. His trial, however, was afterward publiſhed by piece-meal; the pope allowing this deviation from the general rule which required that ſuch proceedings ſhould remain buried in the moſt profound ſecrecy. The publication of his trial informed the curious inquirer that the *great crimes* of Caglioſtro were his being or at leaſt pretending to be initiated in the myſtery of Egyptian free-maſonry, and in thoſe of the ſect of the illuminati. To the eyes of that ignorant and fanatic court of Rome, this appeared ſufficient to prove him cloſely connected with thoſe principles which were at once dreaded by deſpotic authority and by orthodoxy.

But, in ſpite of all the efforts of the Holy See, they were making rapid progreſs: they even ſpread beyond the limits of France. In the beginning of the year 1791 there appeared at Venice a philoſophic treatiſe on the interdict,

interdict, in which the language of the goſpel was thus parodied—" Verily, verily, I ſay unto you, the empire " of reaſon is at hand; and the thunders of the Vatican " ſhall not prevail againſt it."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Injuries received by France from the Court of Rome.

PIUS, however, ſtill perſiſted in the neutrality which he had profeſſed ſince the commencement of our troubles. Such conduct was not pleaſing to the majority of the members of the Sacred College: they recommended to the holy father what they called *firmneſs:* they hoped thus to produce a ſchiſm in France, and to ſave there at leaſt a part of the immunities of the church. A ſchiſm held out the proſpect of " faithful ſervants oppoſed to rebel- " lious ſons: and was it not better to divide the family " than ſuffer it to be entirely loſt? It was, after all, " only ordering the amputation of ſome rotten branches, " for the ſake of ſaving the trunk." The *godly* Romans relied at the ſame time on ſucceſs in another way, and employed the arts of intrigue in France to procure it. They

They hoped that the king would ſet to the orthodox party an impoſing example by refuſing to receive the ſacrament from the *ſacrilegious* hands of an *infamous wretch* who had taken the oath (ſuch were their charitable expreſſions). But Louis was not yet entirely led aſtray by his counſellors, and refuſed to the Sacred College the gratification of that triumph.

Soon after, a new ſubject aroſe which gave additional pain to the Roman court. One of thoſe *infamous wretches* who had taken the oath—Gobel, the new biſhop of Paris,—iſſued a mandate, in which, to calm (as he ſaid) the conſciences of his flock, he enumerated a liſt of holy biſhops who had all been elected by the people. The pope was now ſenſibly alarmed, and mournfully ſaid—"I "foreſee it! France will eſcape from me!" To prevent that misfortune, he formed the reſolution of puniſhing thoſe refractory prelates who had ſet the example of revolt from the Holy See. Toward the end of April, a brief was received at Paris, ſigned with the name of Pius, followed by the ſignature of the abbé Royou, in which the former biſhop of Autun was ſuſpended from his functions, and declared excommunicate at the expiration of forty days, unleſs he returned to a ſenſe of his duty. It has been aſſerted that an *auto-da-fe* was celebrated at Rome, at which his effigy made a conſpicuous figure, clad in a *ſambenito:* but this was a tale invented by ſome wag who wiſhed to furniſh a counterpart to what really happened at Paris, where the pope's effigy, decorated with all his pontifical robes, had been burned by the multitude in the intoxication of a fanaticiſm very different from that which had actuated their anceſtors.

The attention of the court of Rome was engaged by more ſerious trifles. Although the civil conſtitution of the clergy now ſeemed to be nearly forgotten, the Holy See was zealouſly employed in endeavouring to cure that wound inflicted on the Roman church.

In the month of May was appointed a new congregation of thirteen cardinals and five prelates, who exerted their talents in compoſing a conſolatory letter to the biſhops, rectors, curates, who had the *godly* courage to refuſe taking the conſtitutional oath.

In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, the poſt from Turin brought intelligence of Louis's flight. This was a ſubject of exultation for the court of Rome: feſtive preparations were made to celebrate that great event: a crowd of Frenchmen ſet out from Rome to enrol themſelves under the banners of their king now reſtored to liberty. Pius diſpatched to the nuncio Pacca, who reſided at Bruſſels, a letter moſt pathetically affectionate, in which he congratulated Louis on his deliverance, recommended him to the protection of heaven, wiſhed him "a ſpeedy, "peaceable, and triumphant return to his kingdom." The Roman populace hurried in a fit of enthuſiaſm to the palace inhabited by the French king's aunts, and rent the air with repeat ſhouts of "*Viva il re di Francia!* *" The prieſts ran from ſtreet to ſtreet vociferating prayers for the king "delivered from the hands of his miſcreant "perſecutors†." Even the cardinal de Bernis himſelf, forgetful of his age and character, indulged in the demonſtrations of puerile joy.

This delirium, however, was ſoon ſucceeded by poignant regret and even by the ſting of repentance. The Roman court were ſenſible that they had provoked a ſtorm of vengeance from which they could not eſcape; yet, inſtead of taking any ſteps to appeaſe the French nation whoſe triumph could now no longer be conſidered as problematic, they braved her reſentment, laboured to excite a ſchiſm in her boſom, and proſcribed all thoſe who concurred in her revolution.

The archbiſhop of Sens, whom Pius had creared a cardinal, was become one of the principal objects of his animoſity. The pontiff had inſiſted that he ſhould either revoke his acceptance of the civil conſtitution of the clergy or renounce his cardinalitian dignity. Lomenie had anſwered this injunction with a courage which was not congenial to him, but which the circumſtances demanded—"Your holineſs leaves me no alternative but "that of becoming a traitor to my country, or reſign-

"ing

* Long live the king of France!

† The Italian expreſſion, *manigoldi*, literally ſignifies *hangmen—vile ſcoundrels.*

" ing the hat. I cannot poſſibly heſitate, and I ſend it back " to your holineſs." But a voluntary reſignation was not, in the eyes of the Sacred College, a puniſhment; and puniſhment was what their refractory collegue had merited. The pope therefore thought it his duty to hold a ſecret conſiſtory toward the end of September 1791, and to eraſe the name of Lomenie from the liſt of cardinals. In the diſcourſe which he pronounced on this occaſion, he inveighed with great virulence againſt the French principles.

Thus the Roman government attracted the thunder-clouds which were to burſt over their own heads; and their terror increaſed in the ſame proportion with their averſion to France, which was embittered to the higheſt degree, when the incorporation of the Comtat was at length voted on the eighth of October. From that moment they no longer obſerved any bounds either in the expreſſions of their hatred, or in their vexatory meaſures, for which the care of their own ſafety ſerved as a pretext. They cauſed gibbets to be erected during the night at the doors of ſeveral houſes, particularly that of the preſident of the *annona*, who was threatened by the murmurs of the populace: they exerciſed the moſt oppreſſive vigilance with reſpect to foreigners: they ordered every inn-keeper to give in a liſt of all the perſons who lodged with him: they commanded the governors of the frontier towns to admit none who could not produce an expreſs written order from the Holy See. They now dreamed of nothing but inſurrections; and in ſome places, as at Orvieto and Cività-Vecchia, thoſe dreams were on the eve of being realiſed. The tremendous cry of " *Viva la libertà* * *!*" was there heard to reſound; and a band of *ſbirri* were ſent to diſperſe the factious multitude. A certain Octavio Capelli was accuſed of infidelity: the Holy Office, which in ordinary times diſplayed much greater moderation at Rome than in any other catholic country, thought that the circumſtances of the preſent period made ſeverity its duty, even at the riſk of incurring odium and ridicule: accordingly Capelli, as " *a viſionary, an impoſtor, a free-maſon, a man* " *ſuſpected*

* Liberty for ever!

"*ſuſpected of hereſy*," was condemned to ſeven years' impriſonment. Soon after, a Raguſan monk, who was held in reſpect at Rome and even connected with the dean of the ſacred College, was ſuddenly arreſted by that formidable tribunal: his crimes were thoſe of being a *free-maſon* and initiated in the ſame myſteries as Caglioſtro.

During this and the following year the court of Rome accumulated the proofs of its terror, and of its enmity to the French revolution. The aunts of Louis XVI. had repaired to Rome in queſt of an aſylum from the perſecutions to which their family and their religion ſtood expoſed. They were received there leſs even as princeſſes than as victims. The cardinal de Bernis accommodated them in his hotel, and, by his reſpectful attentions, laboured to conſole them for the loſs of that unbounded homage which they no longer received at the court of their nephew. The pope directed the princeſs della Santa-Croce every-where to accompany them.

They were ſoon followed by that courageous but impotent champion of the Roman prerogatives, the abbé Maury, who came to ſeek at Rome the reward of his exertions, an indemnification for his *glorious defeat*. Pius could not have treated him better in conſequence of a victory: he made him the offer of an apartment in the Vatican, but the modeſt abbé contented himſelf with a lodging in the houſe of the cardinal ſecretary of ſtate.

Scarcely arrived at Rome, he was nominated archbiſhop of Thebes: he was deſtined for an important miſſion and allowed a ſalary of ſixty thouſand Roman crowns. He beſpoke rich liveries, and prepared to prove himſelf, by the diſplay of great luxury, the worthy repreſentative of "*the ſervant of the ſervants of God**." On the firſt of May his miſſion was declared: he was to repair as nuncio to the diet of Frankfort. He was conſecrated archbiſhop of Nicæa in Saint Peter's cathedral, in preſence of Louis's aunts, by the cardinal Zelada, aſſiſted by two refractory and fugitive French biſhops—thoſe of Vence and Perpignan. The choice of ſuch a nuncio excited

* *Servus ſervorum Dei*, a title aſſumed by the proud humility of the popes.

excited the aſtoniſhment and indignation of all thoſe haughty Roman prelates who ſaw themſelves poſtponed to a foreign prieſt diſtinguiſhed only by ſome uſeleſs talents. But the pope has ſo ordained: Maury is to ſet out for Frankfort: he will moſt aſſuredly obtain the reſtitution of the Comtat; for he himſelf has promiſed that he will.

It was at this epoch that the war had juſt blazed forth between France and the confederate potentates. Pius, not content with giving them the aid of his oriſons, ſeemed alſo to make preparations for entering the liſts with them. He reviewed his troops, equally formidable by their numbers as by their valour. Let us attend him in his review.

The ſovereign pontiff had at this time a company of a hundred Switzers, and one of halberdiers—two companies, the one of light horſe, the other of cuiraſſiers, each conſiſting of two hundred men indifferently mounted—the city guard forming a regiment of two hundred, known by the appellation of the Red-coats—the garriſon of the caſtle of Saint-Angelo, amounting to about a hundred—a batallion of Corſicans—the garriſons of Civitâ-Vecchia and Ancona, compriſing about three thouſand—Total of the totals, five thouſand men.

It was on the ſtrength of this army that the court of Rome began their warlike preparations, and conceived the project of forming a military line which ſhould extend from the Adriatic to the Mediterranean. Accordingly they gave orders for the march of troops and the tranſportation of artillery—augmented the garriſon in the caſtle of Saint-Angelo—ſent their treaſurer to Civitâ-Vecchia to expedite the intended armaments—directed that town to be put into a ſtate capable of ſuſtaining a ſiege—and even named a generaliſſimo: but where was a fit man to be found in the eccleſiaſtical State? They were obliged to borrow one from ſome of the powers at war with the common enemy. The choice firſt fell upon Capranica, who had been for ſome time in the ſervice of the king of Sardinia—afterward upon baron Marwitz, a Pruſſian officer: nor was he the laſt.

Meaſures of policy are called in to the aid of thoſe military preparatives. A ſecret congregation is held at the

houſe of cardinal Gerdyl. The critical aſpect of the times calls for ſome grand expedient: what deciſive determination will their wiſdom adopt?—That of propoſing a jubilee to avert the diſaſters which impend over the church of Rome!

Hoſtilities of this kind might well have been paſſed over in ſilent diſdain. The French government, however, thought proper to notice them. In the month of July, when giving to the nation an account of the diſpoſitions of the different European powers, it announced to them that the court of Rome was alſo become the irreconcilable enemy of France—that it had moſt loudly proteſted againſt the ſeiſure of Avignon—that, to ſupport its claims, it had made application to all the powers, even to Ruſſia—that it refuſed to admit any diplomatic agent of the republic, under what title ſoever—that France might already conſider herſelf as come to an open rupture with the papacy.

But the Holy See thought no doubt, that it might, under ſhelter of its own feebleneſs, brave with impunity a power which already ſhowed itſelf formidable. The inſolent manifeſto of the duke of Brunſwick makes its appearance: it is received at Rome with enthuſiaſtic tranſport: it is tranſlated into Italian, and profuſely diſtributed: it is conſidered as the ſignal for the annihilation of the *impious race* of Frenchmen; and perſecution is exerciſed with increaſed virulence againſt the individuals of their nation. The French government however overlooks theſe new outrages with high minded diſdain. Its attention is occupied by more momentous intereſts: it has juſt aſſumed the republican form, and is on the eve of becoming ſtill more formidable.

About this period appeared in public a letter addreſſed by an anonymous writer to Pius VI. In it the pontiff was treated with extreme ſeverity: it contained an acrimonious enumeration of his defects and his faults, and retraced the principal features of his reign. From the following paſſage a judgment may be formed of the ſtyle of that letter, which is rather a monument of eloquent indignation than a hiſtoric document.—"You concur, "by your contributions, in the cruſade of the enemies "of France. The draining of the Pontine marſhes,

"which

" which might have crowned you with glory, covers " you with disgrace, because it is nothing better than an " absolute robbery, since you have usurped that vast " tract, and converted it into a principality for your " nephew, to whom you have, *per fas et nefas* *, given " an establishment equal to the opulence of some sove- " reigns. Had you not already incurred excessive guilt " in ruining your people, as well by the enormous sums " so ill expended in the insipid construction of a *sacristy* " which will never be any thing better than a monument " of your foolish vanity and want of taste—as by the fre- " quent emission of paper-money by which you have " tripled the debts of the state ?"—In another place the anonymous author reproaches him with having taken for his model those fanatic popes who had elevated their throne on the basis of stupid folly and ignorance, instead of the prudent Benedict XIV., who above all things avoided theologic disputes. He adds—" For you, holy " father ! was reserved the task of overturning that " throne of folly to which the *most shameful vices* have " raised you, and on which you have only displayed va- " nity, ignorance, presumption, and the most greedy " nepotism. . . . . How imprudent in you, holy father ! " to set yourself up as the defender of religion and mo- " rality when all the actions of your private and public " life are so many proofs of your atheism and immora- " lity !" &c.—The writer concluded by recommending to him to abdicate the throne, and dictating to him the language in which he ought to address the catholic world in disavowing *all the follies* to which he had lent the sanc- tion of his authority.

This violent philippic did not produce at Rome the ef- fect which had been expected from it. The eye of ma- levolence even discovered in it the marks of exaggeration: its author was viewed in no other light than as one of those eloquent infidels who had sworn to overturn the throne and the altar: it supplied with new arguments the enemies of the French revolution, and furnished an ad-

 ditional

* By right and by wrong—without regard to the distinction between right and wrong.

ditional proof that men often miſs their aim by overſhooting the mark.

Within a ſhort time after, the executive council came much nearer to it by ſpeaking to the pontiff in vigorous language which was not inconſiſtent either with French urbanity or with truth. In the beginning of December he received from them a letter ſuperſcribed, "The executive council of the French republic, to the "prince biſhop of Rome." They very energetically demanded of him the enlargement of ſeveral Frenchmen who were arbitrarily confined at Rome. "Pontiff of "the Roman church!" ſaid they—"*hitherto* ruler of a "ſceptre which is ready to eſcape from your graſp! "know the maxims of the French republic. Too juſt "to have any thing to conceal even in diplomacy—too "powerful to employ menaces—but too high-minded to "overlook an outrage—ſhe is ready to avenge it if peace-"able reclamations ſhould prove ineffectual."

But his holineſs had in ſome reſpects anticipated thoſe reclamations: even before they reached him, he had cauſed ſeveral French artiſts to be ſet at liberty, of whoſe number were Chinard an able ſculptor, and Ratel. On the thirteenth of November they had been releaſed, having recovered all their effects, even to their national cockades. But we had ſtill ſeveral cauſes of complaint againſt the court of Rome. Some ſubaltern officers, natives of France, who were in the Roman ſervice, were ſhaven, degraded, ſent to the galleys, for having ſpoken favourably of their country. The cardinal of York, biſhop of Fraſcati, had prohibited the innkeepers of his dioceſe to receive any Frenchman into their houſes. The pulpit, the confeſſional, every thing was employed to exaſperate the people againſt us. Blinded by fear and rage, deſpotiſm, as frequently is the caſe, exhibited itſelf at once in a ridiculous and an atrocious light. The pope called to Rome a body of militia to ſupply the place of the ordinary guard. Thoſe militia-men, ſtill more groteſque in their appearance than his holineſs's regular troops, became a ſubject of laughter to the citizens: whereupon the Holy See iſſued ſtrict orders that people ſhould conſider them as real ſoldiers, under pain of corporal puniſhment. Some wags, however, having, in contempt of that injunction, made

made themſelves merry at the expenſe of the Roman militia-men, atoned for their forbidden merriment under the ſtrokes of the rod.

The recruiting ſervice meanwhile was proſecuted with activity; and, toward the end of December, the pontiff publicly announced, that, although he had no reaſon to apprehend any hoſtilities and intended to preſerve a perfect neutrality, he felt it nevertheleſs his duty to provide for the ſecurity of his coaſts, and to raiſe troops in his different provinces for the ſafeguard of his capital.

He did not loſe ſight of the neceſſity of providing a chief for that army which was aſſembling at his command. Several had already been propoſed. The choice ſeemed for ſome time to be fixed on an Auſtrian general, by name Caprara, who, after having viewed thoſe heroes whom he was to conduct in the path of glory, declared in plain terms, that, "at the firſt muſket-ſhot, "they would all run away, and leave him *tête-à-tête* "with the enemy."

Such was the ſtate of affairs, and ſuch the temper of the public mind, when an incident, rather extraordinary than unforeſeen, intervened to precipitate a cataſtrophe which every circumſtance tended to accelerate.

For ſome time antecedent, the French reſiding in Rome had been able to diſcover from ſeveral indications that there exiſted an intention of involving them all in a general proſcription: and the mildeſt reproach that can be brought againſt the Roman government, is, that it did not redouble its diligence to defeat that horrible conſpiracy. At that period we had not at Rome any acknowledged agent: but our miniſter at Naples had ſent thither one of his ſecretaries of legation, Baſſeville, to plead the cauſe of his oppreſſed compatriots. Baſſeville had obtained from the ſecretary of ſtate an anſwer calculated to remove all uneaſineſs; and the pontiff himſelf had increaſed their unſuſpecting ſecurity by ſome of thoſe phraſes which appear the ſpontaneous effuſions of candor. The French were preparing to attend one of their meetings when they learned the diſaſter that had happened to our admiral's veſſel after the expedition to Naples; and they

they made a collection among themſelves to contribute to the reparation of the damages. Such was the object of their firſt two meetings in the palace of the academy. They were to meet a third time to deliberate on the means of ſubſtituting, in lieu of the ancient armorial inſignia which decorated that palace, the arms of the republic. But the populace, miſinformed reſpecting the object of the intended meeting, furiouſly crowded to the academy, where they arrived before the artiſts. Baſſeville, and Flotte, a major belonging to the fleet off Naples, were the firſt who had exhibited the tricolor cockade: on that very day they had worn it at a viſit which they paid to the ſecretary of ſtate, who ſaid to them, "The cockade is "no longer a badge which the French are prohibited to "wear in Rome."

During the interval preceding the hour of the appointed meeting, theſe two Frenchmen were taking an airing in a coach. Baſſeville had with him his wife and child. Their carriage ſlowly moved along the *Corſo*, one of the broadeſt and moſt frequented ſtreets of Rome. The Roman government has aſſerted that the affected diſplay of the tricolor cockade had irritated the populace. It was rather the government itſelf that had excited them to acts of violence, by ſo many preceding meaſures ſtrongly ſtamped with the characters of hatred to all who were attached to France. Be that, however, as it may, the French in the coach were ſuddenly aſſailed with hooting, ſtones, and muſket-ſhots. Baſſeville orders his coachman to drive home, ſprings from the carriage, oppoſes the efforts made by major Flotte to defend him, when ſuddenly he feels himſelf pierced with a bayonet. The ſoldiery, unreſtrained by any control, drag him expiring to the adjacent guard-houſe, and ſeem to have given the ſignal for a general maſſacre. A crowd of wretches ravening for carnage run about the ſtreets, vociferating "Long live the pope! The holy faith for "ever! Saint Bartlemy for ever*! Death to all the "French!"

Meantime

* The maſſacre of the proteſtants in France on Saint Bartholomew's day, A. D. 1572, will naturally recur to the mind of the reader.

Meantime the pupil-penſioners of the academy ran terrified through the halls, and ſaw themſelves in danger of being murdered amid the maſter-productions of the arts.

Several facts deeply inculpate the Roman government Some ſtatements, which are at leaſt of queſtionable authority, tend to exculpate it, by throwing the provocation on the ſide of the French. If we were diſpoſed to anticipate the deciſion of hiſtory, to which alone it belongs to pronounce between theſe contradictory aſſertions at a period when the paſſions ſhall be lulled to ſilence, we would ſay that Rome—at this time crowded with mal-contents of various deſcriptions, but all unanimous in deteſting the French revolution, all faithfully perſeverant in that deteſtation which they conſidered as a duty—muſt have contained, if not numerous accomplices, at leaſt numerous confidants, of that horrible conſpiracy to which the unfortunate Baſſeville fell a victim; that the government could not be ignorant of it; that, as it did not prevent its execution, it may fairly be accuſed of having at leaſt connived at it; and that this ſuſpicion derives confirmation from the ſtyle of the edict iſſued three days after by the pope: for, inſtead of making a diſavowal in the moſt deciſive language and in that hypocritically mournful tone which Italian duplicity muſt have found it eaſy to aſſume, he contented himſelf with ſaying, through the organ of his ſecretary of ſtate Zelada, that he "ſenſibly felt the teſtimonies which the "people of Rome had given him, on the preceding days, "of their attachment to religion and their affection for "his holineſs's perſon; but that the holy father was "afflicted to ſee that the ſame people, amid the emoti-"ons to which they had yielded in expreſſing their ſen-"timents, had ſuffered themſelves to be hurried on to "*ſome exceſſes which had diſturbed the public tranquillity*— "exceſſes unbecoming a nation who ought to pride "themſelves on having been nurtured with good pre-"cepts, and trained up in the principles of a morality "whoſe every maxim recommends peace, gentleneſs, "and charity toward our neighbour."—In another part, his holineſs commands his ſubjects "to keep themſelves "in future in *a more calm ſtate*—to refrain from all kind

"of

" of tumult or aſſemblage—to do *no damage to any hotel* " *or any ſhop*—and not to *inſult* any perſon, of whatſoe- " ver origin or country, or any property belonging to " him," &c.

And it was in this ſoft and tenderly indulgent language that the court of Rome expreſſed their diſapprobation of a horrible crime committed againſt a French agent who had been received by their principal miniſter a few hours before! Was it thus that they hoped to diſarm the reſentment of the formidable republic which at that time made ſucceſsful oppoſition to a great part of Europe, and already threatened the moſt firmly eſtabliſhed thrones?

If any thing could appear more aſtoniſhing than the phlegmatic unconcern of the court of Rome on ſuch an occaſion, it was the patience of the French government which condeſcended to reſt ſatisfied with ſuch a cold diſavowal, and whoſe anger was appeaſed by ſome ſlight marks of repentance.

But the indignation which muſt have fired the boſom of every Frenchman—of every impartial obſerver, if there were any ſuch at the time—is at leaſt energetically expreſſed in an anonymous letter addreſſed from Florence to the cardinal Zelada, and dated January 25. By it we are informed that " his eminence Zelada, a man of " ſuch reputed mildneſs and conciliating diſpoſition, was " at this critical moment when the lives of all the French " ſeemed to be in danger, ſeated by the pope's ſide, " calmly entertaining him with the ſucceſſive details of " the ſhocking ſcence which the populace were acting " in the ſtreets of Rome. Ah! cardinal Zelada, what " is become of that reputation for prudence, ability, and " humanity, of which you had been twenty years in " poſſeſſion, and which cauſed you to be beloved by the " miniſters of France and Spain, courted by all foreign- " ers, and held in eſtimation through all Europe? " What! you compel us then to conſider that brilliant " reputation as one of the uſurpations of the court of " Rome, and to view you no longer as that able miniſter " whom the world was pleaſed to think you, but as a " detected hyprocrite whoſe conduct inſpires almoſt as " much contempt as averſion?"

To

To account, however, for that cool apathy of the Roman government after an event that might have cauſed its inſtant overthrow, it is only neceſſary to recollect that our government, though plumed with glorious ſucceſſes, might ſtill appear to ſtand on dubious ground; that the Holy See had as a rampart, to ſhelter it from our reſentment, a great part of Italy—of that country which was ſtill thought inacceſſible to our arms; and eſpecially that it was ſurrounded by perfidious counſellors, who, making heaven a party in the defence of their purely mundane intereſts; talked of nothing but *celeſtial vengeance*, from which it was impoſſible for the *impious*, *ſacrilegious*, *regicide* nation to eſcape.

The pontiff, however, did not place ſuch blind reliance on theſe great motives of ſecurity as not to adopt other precautions. He conſigned to oblivion his grounds of complaint againſt the court of Naples, and, in concert with it, planned meaſures of defence. He viſited his arſenals and his pawn-bank*, to appreciate the aſſiſtance which he might expect from thoſe two grand ſinews of war, ſteel and gold. Alas! they were both very feeble: no cannons in the arſenals, little gold in the coffers! But his principal reſource was the fanaticiſm of the Roman populace: and he ſpared no pains to render it ſubſervient to his views. At this time he carried on intrigues in all the courts of Italy, and, ſetting aſide the ſcruples of intolerance, was in concert with that of Saint-James's againſt the *common enemy of the peace of Europe*. Thoſe two courts of Rome and London ſeemed to have divided heaven and earth between them; the one reſerving to itſelf the religious reſources, the other the political.

Pius filled to the beſt of his power his double character of temporal prince and pontiff: and, foreſeeing that the vengeance of France could be at moſt only procraſtinated, he called forth, by energetic proclamations, all his means of defence. "At the ſound of the bell," ſaid he in one of them, "which ſhall announce an invaſion, let all "the

* *Monte-di-pietà*—pawn broker's office, only on a more extenſive ſcale than ours, and with this further difference, that the government, i. e. his holineſs, was the head pawn-broker. See Chap. XXXI. toward the end of this volume.

" the men run to arms; let them ſend off to the interior " of the country all the cattle and forage; let them ſet " fire to whatever elſe remains; and let them *endeavour* " *to deſtroy by every practicable mean a lawleſs and mercileſs* " *enemy.*"—Such were the expreſſions uſed by the father of the faithful, the vice-gerent of the God of mercy!

He contented himſelf however with exhorting and inviting, becauſe he was convinced, he ſaid, that all his ſubjects, equally good catholics as good citizens, would conſider it as their duty to combat a horde of " *barbarians*" " who had ſworn to overturn, wherever they went, the " throne and the altar."—He next promiſed indemnifications for loſſes, rewards for diſtinguiſhed actions, and particularly a complete amneſty to criminals who ſhould ſtep forward *to expiate their crimes by fighting in defence of the ſtate and of religion.* From this levy *en maſſe*, thus called forth in the name of heaven and earth, he excepted none but old men above the age of ſixty years, children below that of ſixteen, infirm perſons, and eccleſiaſtics in general, whoſe function it was to " raiſe their hands on " the mountain while the faithful were combating in " the plain."

This extraordinary proclamation would alone have been ſufficient to juſtify the meaſures which were at length taken againſt the court of Rome, and even againſt the catholic church. How was it poſſible any longer to acknowledge, as the prevailing religion in a ſtate, that religion of which the ſovereign pontiff, with his ſacred book in his hand, dares proclaim to the univerſe that it is neceſſary to deſtroy an enemy *by every practicable mean* —encourages to the commiſſion of crimes by the facility of expiation, in abſolving all criminals who ſhall ſtep forth to " fight in defence of the ſtate and of religion"—and ſanctions the ſlothful idleneſs of the prieſts by deſtining them to remain inactive ſpectators of thoſe combats in which they impel their flock to engage, and which are undertaken for their own defence? In the age of the cruſades,

cruſades, in that of the league*, did fanaticiſm ever ſpeak in language more abſurd or more intolerant?

The emperor alſo was one of the principal ſupporters of Pius, who received from him counſels, eulogiums, encouragements, and who with godly tranquillity beheld the Engliſh and Spaniſh fleets protecting Italy from invaſion. But the ſucceſſes of the coalition were neither conſtant nor univerſal: the Piémonteſe army had ſuffered repeated checks; and it was ſtill neceſſary to obſerve ſome delicacy of conduct toward France. Inſtead, therefore, of braving the republic, the pontiff, toward the end of June, ordered the reſtoration of a French tartane which had been captured by one of his *guardacoſtas*, and carried to Cività-Vecchia: for he was "not," he ſaid, "at war with France." By what epithet ſhall we characteriſe that pontiff who dares to aſſert that he is "not at war with France," yet invites his ſubjects to deſtroy all the French "by every practicable mean," and labours in every court of Europe to excite enemies againſt them?

But a circumſtance which more ſtrongly operated than his ſalutary dread of France in rendering him ſtill cautious, was the feebleneſs of his reſources. Of this he every day gained freſh conviction. Toward the concluſion of the year 1793 the taxes were burdenſome and ill paid: proviſions were ſcarce and dear: the people vented loud murmurs on ſeeing them embarked and ſent off to ſupply the fleets of the confederate powers. Two months after neceſſity compelled the adoption of a meaſure which at any other time would have been deemed more than bold. The new treaſurer, Laporta, who had ſucceeded the ſquanderer Ruffo, put in requiſition the plate belonging to the churches, for the purpoſe of devoting it to the mintage of ten millions of ſmall coin, intended to be employed in paying off the *cedole*.

Pius eagerly laid hold on every circumſtance which afforded him an opportunity of diſplaying his zeal. In the firſt months of the year 1794, ſucceſs ſeemed to ſmile on the Auſtrian arms. The emperor had conceived the idea

* The catholic league, formed againſt the hugonots, in the reign of Henry III. of France.

idea of placing himſelf, at leaſt during a while, at the head of his army. Such a glorious inſtance of ſelf-devotion appeared to Pius deſerving of encouragement and even of recompenſe: accordingly he ſent to Francis II. a golden medal repreſenting Saint Peter and Saint Paul, and incloſed in a relique-caſe. "Fight," ſaid he to him, in a letter which accompanied the preſent—"fight "in the name of thoſe two valiant ſoldiers of Chriſt." The exhortation reached the emperor probably after his precipitate retreat: it was diſapproved even at Rome: but the pope had contracted the habit of committing actions which alternately expoſed him to ridicule and reſentment; nor ſhall we ſee an end of ſuch conduct until the hour of his downfall.

The remainder of the year 1794 was ſpent in deviſing means to procure a ſupply of ſpecie, and means to fanaticiſe the multitude. The former proved a more difficult taſk than the latter. To carry on his military preparatives, an increaſed expenditure became neceſſary, and, conſequently, an augmentation of taxes. The Roman people now, inſtead of riſing againſt the French, were near riſing againſt their own government; and, at the termination of the year 1794, attempted to ſet fire to the palace of the duke Braſchi, whoſe riches excited indignation amid the general diſtreſs.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXVII.

Embarraſſments and Inconſiſtencies of the Court of Rome.

VARIOUS circumſtances at this time concurred in irritating the minds of the Romans. During the three preceding years, the pope had thought proper to prohibit the diverſions of the carneval, in conſideration of the calamities of the church. The lower orders alone ſuffered by this prohibition: the nobles alone diverted themſelves; the law being mute with reſpect to the latter. The impatient inhabitants of the *Traſtevere* quarter and of the *Porta del Popolo*, ſhocked at that excluſive privilege, reſolved to have their ſhare alſo in the diverſions of the ſeaſon. On the Thurſday before lent (of the year 1795) they ran about the ſtreets in maſks. On the following Monday the patrols attempted by violence to repreſs thoſe ſallies of coarſe but innocent gaiety: the conſequence was an open inſurrection, in which ſtilettoes and knives were employed to ſecond the volleys of ſtones. The Borgheſe palace was beſieged: but a few handfuls of coin diſperſed the beſiegers. The duke Braſchi was involved in ſimilar danger: his wife, confined by ſickneſs to her bed, was near loſing her life in conſequence

conſequence of the fright. The Piombini and Chigi palaces were preſerved by barricadoes.

Private individuals were the only ſufferers by this commotion: they were pillaged: they were obliged to pay ranſoms. The terror was general throughout Rome: and many foreigners fled from the city. The government remained a paſſive ſpectator of the ſtorm in hope that it would prove no more than a tranſient guſt. They did not diſcover in a few bands of plunderers the elements of a ſerious inſurrection. The Romans at this time did not reſemble thoſe of their anceſtors who, ſeceding to the Sacred Mount, compelled the ſenate to pay deference to their wiſhes—and much leſs thoſe Frenchmen of the fourteenth of July who in a ſingle day ſhook the foundations of their ancient government. On this occaſion (and it was perhaps the only inſtance of his prudent management during ten years) the pope applied to the evil its true remedy. He did not conſider this mutinous fit as indicative of a ſettled wiſh for liberty. But, when the danger was paſt, he adopted indeed a meaſure which might well have been thought ridiculous. Sufficient reſpect had not been paid to his agents: he therefore thought proper to declare the papal ſoldiers *inviolable* as their maſter, and to announce that any inſult offered to a *ſbirro* would be deemed an act of *high treaſon*.

In the courſe of the year 1795, which was ſo favourable to our arms, the pope did every thing in his power to avoid coming to a rupture with us, and even took ſome ſteps, which, at the ſame time that they afforded glaring evidence of his terror, ſerved well enough to conceal his averſion. In July he learned that a French brigantine, chaſed by two Neapolitan tartanes, had been driven aſhore on the coaſt of the Eccleſiaſtical State, and that its hapleſs crew, eſcaped from ſhipwreck and captivity, were roaming in the woods near the ſea-ſide and in the utmoſt diſtreſs. His pontifical bowels yearned: he ſent aſſiſtance to thoſe unfortunates, cauſed their veſſel to be repaired, and convoyed by an eſcort to a certain diſtance. On this occaſion he declared that he was at war with nobody, that he was deſirous of living in peace, and did not wiſh to injure any nation.

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A ſingular circumſtance was, that, even while he was cauſing public prayers to be offered up for the ſucceſs of the imperial armies, and laviſhing on them his plenary indulgences, he treated the ſubjects of Auſtria with greater ſeverity than he exerciſed againſt the French. During the year 1795 he detained in priſon two chaplains of the court of Vienna, Monaco and Poli, on the charge of being attached to the opinions of the biſhop of Piſtoja. This, truly, was a fit moment to think of thoſe puerile diſcuſſions, which at moſt were only worthy of the attention of the church in her hours of peaceful leiſure!

The court of Rome had now preciſely reached the period of its greateſt internal embarraſſments. Specie, proviſions, confidence in the government, all was deficient at the ſame time. To palliate one diſeaſe which was already deemed incurable, they increaſed another of more dangerous complexion—the diſcontent of the people. A new emiſſion of *cedole* was made, which were not exchangeable for caſh in any ſums above five crowns. The venders of proviſions were obliged, at the cloſe of each week, to carry to the bank *dello Spirito Santo* a part of the ſpecie which they had received, and to accept *cedole* in exchange for it: moſt of the convents were invited to ſend their ſuperfluous plate to the mint: but all theſe reſources proved yet inſufficient; and ſo urgent was the diſtreſs of the papal treaſury toward the end of December, that the pope conſented to ſell a great number of his carriages, and forty of his fineſt horſes. The ſum of ſixty thouſand crowns which he raiſed by the ſale was quickly ſent to the pawn-bank and the bank *dello Spirito Santo*, which were crowded with people importunately preſſing for the exchange of their *cedole*.

The immediate cauſe of this increaſed diſtreſs lay in the military preparations which the court of Rome had the boldneſs to make for the purpoſe of repelling an attack which their own extraordinary conduct had provoked. In April 1796, at the moment when they ſeemed deſirous of deprecating the ſtorm which already began to growl over their heads, a body of Neapolitan cavalry preſented themſelves on the frontier, wiſhing to paſs through the Eccleſiaſtical State on their way to the Milaneſe. What did his holineſs now do to prove his neutrality? He

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appointed a commandant, who was directed to accompany the Neapolitans, and insure to them a supply of provisions.

This instance of partiality was not calculated to conciliate the good-will of a victorious general, who was already master of Lombardy, and who, stationed at Milan as the centre of his present and future conquests, threatened all Italy, and particularly the papal territory. The court of Rome had not imagined that his successes would be durable; and, according as they had appeared certain or doubtful, the pope had alternately behaved with suppleness or arrogance. In the spring of 1796 he plainly perceived that his position was uncommonly critical: but to whom should he have recourse for its melioration? The cardinal de Bernis, formerly his counsellor and mediator, was himself no longer in that calm situation which might enable him to give prudent advice: he was besides, on more than one account, odious to that government whose anger was to be averted. The Spanish minister alone remained in such an attitude as could render his intervention useful: his court, after a transient war, was again on terms of amity with the French republic: his character, his knowledge, his long experience, the stately magnificence by which he was surrounded, the figure that Spain had constantly made among the catholic powers, had raised him to be the man of greatest consequence in all Rome. The Spanish palace and its extensive appurtenances constituted in that city a kind of independent state, whose chief saw under his protection and guidance a population of fourteen thousand souls, enjoyed his immunities which no hand would have dared to violate, and had his guards and even his gentlemen. The greatest personages, the cardinals, courted his favour: those who bore him no affection were nevertheless afraid to refuse him the outward marks of esteem and respect; and, where every other sentiment was wanting, at least he commanded fear. Such was the man, whom—not every heart invited, but every eye looked up to, when they saw the Ecclesiastical State threatened with invasion by the victorious Buonaparte.

The cardinal Zelada had not long been in office before he perceived his own impotence. He felt himself extremely

tremely inadequate to the taſk which Pius had thought he might venture to intruſt to him. Deſtitute of activity, and poſſeſſing hardly any influence, he was no better than a mere oſtenſible tool in all thoſe meaſures of which the French government had reaſon to complain. The court of Rome, juſtly alarmed by the progreſs of a revolution which attacked prejudices of every kind, thought it neceſſary to oppoſe a barrier to that torrent. The ordinary means were inſufficient. Zelada, characteriſtically feeble, and whoſe faculties were ſtill farther enfeebled by age, was ill qualified ſingly to guide the reins of government in ſo critical circumſtances. The pontiff committed them to the hands of a congregation compoſed of ſome cardinals, as Albani, Gerdyl, Antonelli, Borgia, Zelada himſelf, together with ſome prelates, and appointed as their *fiſcal*, that is to ſay their principal agent, a criminaliſt named Barberi, a juſt man, it was ſaid, but ſevere and violent, who, by his exceſſes, contributed not a little to accelerate the downfall of the Roman government. It was through him alone that the pope held correſpondence with the congregation, all whoſe reports Barberi diſtorted in obedience to the dictates of his own paſſions. He thus engroſſed all the authority which ought to have been veſted in the congregation: he exerciſed acts of perſonal vengeance: he ſubſerved every ſuſpicion: he let looſe every hatred; and, while he continued to diſguſt Romans and foreigners, the friends and the enemies of France, the pontiff alone conſidered himſelf as indebted to him for his own ſalvation and that of the ſtate. Every individual bowed ſubmiſſive, every tongue was ſilent, at leaſt in his preſence.

Notwithſtanding the clamours of the factions oppoſed to France, the chevalier Azara ſtill retained not only ſome aſcendency over the pope, but alſo the confidence of the Roman people. He condeſcended to make one laſt effort to extricate the Holy See from the danger in which a ſucceſſion of imprudencies had involved it. He conſented to become its mediator with the youthful conqueror who menaced its territories, and repaired to Buonaparte at Milan. All Rome in anxious expectation awaited the reſult of his conferences with that general. The populace loudly expreſſed their wiſhes for the

preſervation of peace: they aſſembled in crowds before the door of duke Braſchi, whom they ſuſpected of entertaining a deſire different from theirs; nor could they otherwiſe be appeaſed than by aſſurances that the duke-nephew had on the contrary determined his uncle to commence a negotiation.

But the progreſs of the conferences was much leſs rapid than that of our arms. Intelligence was received at Rome, that on the firſt of Meſſidor (June 19, 1796), a diviſion of the French army had entered the papal dominions. On the frontier of the Bologneſe and Modeneſe territories ſtood the fort of Urbino, which we could not leave in our rear. It was ſummoned to ſurrender. This fort was garriſoned by five hundred ſoldiers, "fine-looking fellows," ſaid Buonaparte in his relation of the affair, "and well clad: but they were pope's-men!" The fort ſurrendered. This was our firſt conqueſt in the Eccleſiaſtical State. Soon after, we became maſters of Bologna, Ferrara, and even Ancona. Thus the Holy See loſt, within a few days, two of its legatine governments, its two fineſt provinces, which it has never ſince recovered, and where no individual has regretted its yoke.

The news of theſe events cauſed a great ferment among the Romans. They aſſembled in groups which diſplayed the features of anxiety rather than of ſedition. The government, however, was alarmed by theſe appearances: the ſecretary of ſtate addreſſed a proclamation to the mal-contents, and ſpoke to them in the language both of the temporal and ſpiritual powers, which ſtood in need of mutual ſupport to ſucceed in ſtill retaining any authority. "As Chriſtians," ſaid he to them, "have recourſe to God: as ſubjects, place confidence "in your ſovereign, who leaves nothing unattempted to "ſecure peace."

About this time the prieſts of the Eccleſiaſtical State crowded to the temples, to the public ſquares—opened to their flocks the treaſures of celeſtial liberality—promiſed *forty thouſand years of indulgence* to whoever ſhould

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aſſiſt in repelling the French, "the ſcourges of the church*."

The general anxiety, however, continued to operate with undiminiſhed poignancy. Already the principal Roman families were ſeen retiring from the city. The cardinals were preparing to follow them, when a courier arrived, who had been diſpatched from Bologna by the chevalier Azara, with the news of the armiſtice which he had juſt concluded. The ſacrifices which he had been obliged to make were painful: it coſt the pope the two legatine governments of Bologna and Ferrara, his fineſt paintings, his moſt beautiful ſtatues, and a contribution of fifteen millions: but theſe were the only terms on which he had been able to arreſt the tide of Gallic conqueſt.

This armiſtice ſupplied the enemies of the chevalier Azara with new means of bringing him into diſcredit, and even rendering him odious. According to their repreſentations, that miniſter "had ſacrificed the Holy "See: his conduct was dictated by his hatred of the "Romans, and by his irreligious principles, evidently "ſimilar to thoſe which the French arms rendered tri-"umphant."—But this was not a ſeaſon for declamatory invective: it was neceſſary to deviſe means of fulfilling the condition of the fatal armiſtice. The pope immediately ſent for the cardinal *camerlingo* and the governor of Rome: he convoked the congregation of ſtate: he deliberated: he reſigned himſelf to his deſtiny, and in the night of the 28th of June diſpatched a plenipotentiary to Paris. The perſon choſen for that miſſion was Pieracchi, who had already been internuncio in France; and with him was aſſociated Evangeliſti, whom the cheva-

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* Thus they commented on a brief iſſued by the pope, which had been profuſely diſſeminated through the country, and which is worthy of being preſerved, as one of the moſt curious monuments of atrocious fanaticiſm. It is as follows:

"To all our dearly-beloved catholic ſons, brethren in Jeſus Chriſt.

"We pray you, for the good of Chriſtianity and of his holineſs, to take "up arms in defence of religion. Whoever ſhall kill a Frenchman, will per-"form a ſacrifice acceptable to God; and his name ſhall be inſcribed among "the names of the elect of the Lord."

See the "Political and Military Memoirs, illuſtrative of the Secret Hiſto-"ry of the French Revolution," vol. ii. page 109.

lier Azara had taken with him to Bologna as his ſecretary.

Theſe political ſteps were followed by public prayers, thankſgivings, and proclamations: but the chief difficulty was not yet ſurmounted. The contribution promiſed to France muſt be raiſed without delay. The ordinary reſources were exhauſted nor could taxation furniſh new. Pius propoſed in a ſecret conſiſtory to take the remainder of thoſe ſums of money which had been treaſured in the caſtle of Saint-Angelo ſince the pontificate of Sixtus V. On any other occaſion ſuch a meaſure would have been deemed ſacrilege: under preſent circumſtances, the terror was now ſo profound and univerſal that the pope's propoſition was unanimouſly adopted.

But thoſe treaſures of the caſtle of Saint-Angelo were hardly ſufficient to pay the firſt inſtalment: for the ſubſequent payments it became neceſſary to employ other means. The churches and all the pious foundations were obliged to deliver up all their ornaments and veſſels of gold and ſilver which were not abſolutely indiſpenſable for the celebration of divine ſervice. An edict was iſſued, inviting all the pope's ſubjects to carry to the treaſury all their ſuperfluous plate. Four Roman noblemen were charged with the collection. The prince Doria ſent in a gratuitous donation which was valued at half a million.

To divert the minds of the Romans from brooding on thoſe ſubjects of anxious concern, prayers were called in to their aid, and indulgences, and miracles in particular, which ſeemed to be multiplied in theſe critical moments. At Ancona, notwithſtanding the preſence of the French who were ſo little inclined to ſuperſtitious credulity, there was not a Madonna that had not exhibited ſymptoms of animation; and the faithful were firmly perſuaded that to the interceſſion of the Virgin alone they were indebted for that armiſtice which coſt them ſo dear, and yet was ſo earneſtly deſired. At Rome, as it was highly proper, the miracles were even more brilliant than at Ancona. There, all the Madonnas opened and ſhut and rolled their eyes: near ſome of them, withered flowers recovered their bloom, dry branches reſumed their verdure; and

and the multitude flocked in crowds to the ſight, admired, and atteſted what they had ſeen.

It was amid this phrenſy of devotion that the chevalier Azara entered Rome on his return from Bologna. Notwithſtanding the inſtigations of the chevalier's enemies, the pontiff received him with eager warmth, gave him ſeveral ſecret audiences, and received from him counſels of which ſubſequent events have proved that he had not the wiſdom to avail himſelf. Pius's intellects were at this time in a ſtate nearly bordering on alienation: but there was ſomething gloomy in his delirium. Thoſe miracles, which by all his flock were conſidered as ſo auſpicious omens, to him appeared ſure tokens of the divine wrath: to appeaſe it, he ordered viſits, in the form of proceſſions, to ſix churches. In thoſe religious ceremonies, ladies of the higheſt rank bore the ſacred banner; and the cardinal della Sommaglia, well fitted by his natural caſt as by his ſtation for acting every ſort of character, did not diſdain the taſk of carrying the croſs.

Such was the manner in which the court of Rome was preparing to receive the French commiſſioners who were coming to execute the conditions of the armiſtice. The cardinal Zelada thought it his duty to teſtify the warmeſt deſire of giving them a good reception: and although it was well known what he thought of the ſituation of the Holy See, he had the effrontery to declare in a hypocritic proclamation, that the armiſtice was "an "effect of God's mercy, ſince it was, after all, an ad-"vantage to ſacrifice a part for the ſake of preſerving "the reſt." He moreover threatened with the ſevereſt puniſhments whoever ſhould dare to offer even the ſlighteſt inſult to the French commiſſioners or any of their ſuit. By this conduct the court of Rome announced very pacific intentions, but at the ſame time betrayed conſiderable diſtruſt of the diſpoſitions of the Roman people, and ſeemed to prepare for itſelf an apology beforehand.

In the month of July, arrived the firſt of the expected commiſſioners, citizen Miot, our miniſter in Tuſcany. The chevalier Azara, who after having tranſacted the affairs of the court of Rome, now did the honours for it,

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went to meet the Gallic commiſſioner as far as Ponte-Molle, and introduced him into Rome under the eſcort of a piquet of cavalry, and preceded by a French courier decorated with that tricolor cockade which a few months before, had ſo violently excited the indignation of the Roman people.

Miot was at firſt received with all the appearances of warm cordiality, and diſtinguiſhed by thoſe honours which are uſually reſerved for embaſſadors extraordinary. All the cardinals, ſo well ſchooled in the arts of diſſimulation, came to viſit him. The chevalier Azara procured him an audience of the pope, which laſted nearly an hour: the converſation wholly turned on indifferent topics, nor was any except tranſient mention made of the conditions of the armiſtice. Pius ſolemnly declared that they were, in his eyes, "*una coſa ſacro-ſanta* *:" but experience ſoon taught us what degree of ſincerity accompanied thoſe words pronounced with a penitential air. Afterward, for form-ſake, Miot had a conference with the cardinal Zelada. The latter was ſo enfeebled by age and ſolicitude as hardly to retain the uſe of ſpeech: he therefore nominated a prelate to ſupply his place in the conferences relative to the armiſtice.

The other French commiſſioners ſucceſſively arrived. Their preſence cauſed a lively ſenſation at Rome: they were viewed with an eager curioſity which had nothing offenſive in it. They naturally awaked unpleaſing recollections: but what compariſon between a ſet of pacific commiſſioners—for the moſt part men of temperate prudence—and thoſe formidable conquerors from whom the city ought to have deemed herſelf thrice happy to have only received laws at a diſtance? Cacault, who had ſo long been employed in Italy, cloſely followed Miot to Rome; and, at the end of July, the conferences reſpecting the execution of the armiſtice were begun in the chevalier Azara's hotel. At thoſe meetings the pope employed, as his interpreter, the *fiſcal* Barberi, whoſe intractable diſpoſition was already too well known. He ſtill poſſeſſed paramount influence, and exerted it in ſuch manner

* A moſt ſacred object.

manner as to increaſe the number of wrongs chargeable on the pope. They had not yet reached the term of their final completion.

At this period we received a ſlight check, and were obliged to relinquiſh for ſome time the ſiege of Mantua. Pius's perfidious counſellors ſaw that this was a favourable moment to repair at leaſt a part of his loſſes; and, notwithſtanding the energetic repreſentations of the chevalier Azara, the pontiff diſpatched a vice-legate to retake poſſeſſion of the legation of Ferrara. This little triumph was of ſhort duration. The vice-legate, on his arrival, found the Ferrareſe tolerably quiet, and imagined that they were diſpoſed to replace themſelves with pleaſure under the papal yoke: but he ſaw them riſe in inſurrection when he attempted to ſubſtitute the arms of the ſovereign pontiff to thoſe of the French republic. Soon afterward the tide of Gallic victory reſumed its wonted courſe: the vice-legate's miſſion was at an end; and he thought himſelf very fortunate in being allowed to return to Rome.

Meantime the reſpectful attentions which had in the firſt inſtance been ſhown to the French commiſſioners were ſucceeded by inſults as ſoon as our ſituation began to appear critical. Miot, returning to his poſt at Florence after amonth ſpent at Rome, became the object of a popular commotion in his way through Spoleto; nor did he without difficulty eſcape the rage of the populace who were ſtirred up againſt him. Even at Rome, two of our commiſſioners, who had quietly ſtopped to view the column of Trajan, were firſt aſſailed with a volley of ſtones thrown by children, and afterward, in attempting to make their eſcape, heard the alarming cry of "Kill "them! they are Frenchmen! they are commiſſioners!" In fact they were in imminent danger of loſing their lives; and, for their preſervation, they were ſolely indebted to the interference of a Roman officer who conducted them to the governor of the city. The latter ſtammered out an apology in the following hypocritic ſtrain— "You muſt attribute this commotion, which we diſavow "and regret, to the unfavourable intelligence received con- "cerning the French armies."—"And what would you "ſay," replied one of the commiſſaries, "if—now that

"we

" we have victories to celebrate inſtead of loſſes to de-
" plore—we ſhould diſpenſe with our obſervance of the ar-
" miſtice?"—The governor promiſed to exert increaſed vigilance: the commiſſioners were conducted to their habitation, but not without hearing on every ſide of them the loud hootings of the populace.

On the ſecond day after this event, notwithſtanding the promiſes of the government, notwithſtanding the numerous patrols, ſome Frenchmen were again inſulted. Cacault loſt all patience, and was on the point of ſuffering his indignation to break forth; but he was appeaſed by the chevalier Azara, who promiſed to obtain for him complete ſatisfaction from his holineſs. Pius wore the appearance of aſtoniſhment, of affliction: he iſſued freſh orders: he commanded guards to be placed within reach of the French plenipotentiary. Some delinquents were arreſted; and aſſurances were given that they ſhould be puniſhed.

It was theſe ſcandalous ſcenes that finally determined the cardinal Zelada in the intention which he had long formed of retiring from office. He was very old and infirm, and ſaw himſelf reſponſible for diſagreeable incidents which he had not the power to prevent. The entire government of Rome reſted at this time on the internal police, which was nominally intruſted to the congregation heretofore mentioned, but in fact was entirely ſurrendered to the *fiſcal* Barberi, who was now become the object of univerſal deteſtation. On the eleventh of Auguſt the chevalier Azara wrote to the pope that the public intereſt demanded the diſmiſſal of the *fiſcal*, as the only mean of keeping the people within bounds, and appeaſing the French republic, whoſe reſentment might be productive of the moſt diſagreeable conſequences to the Eccleſiaſtical State.

But Pius could not conſent to part with Barberi. He thought the views of the Spaniſh miniſter were equally anſwered by ſubſtituting in Zelada's ſtead a cardinal toward whom Azara appeared to be very favourably diſpoſed, and who was reputed to poſſeſs both prudence and energy. He informed the chevalier that he had appointed to the miniſtry the cardinal Ignatius Buſca.

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Since this new miniſter may be conſidered as the immediate cauſe of the final calamities of the Holy See, he deſerves to be more particularly known.

The prelate Buſca, ſprung from an illuſtrious family in the Milaneſe, was gifted with ſome external accompliſhments: to tallneſs of ſtature and elegance of figure he added that manner which announced an acquaintance with polite life, and language ſufficiently florid to diſguiſe the mediocrity of his mental endowments.

He had travelled in his youth, and, after having peragrated France and Germany, had been nominated to the poſt of nuncio at Bruſſels. This was not one of thoſe nunciatures which directly led to the cardinalate. On his return, Buſca was appointed governor of Rome. In addition to zeal and ſteadineſs, that poſt required conſiderable abilities. Buſca endeavoured to diſtinguiſh himſelf in it by his reforms: but he was completely the man of pleaſure; he ſoon relinquiſhed a taſk which was rendered too laborious by the contrarieties he had to encounter: and, on quitting the governorſhip of Rome to put on the cardinal's hat, he humorouſly enough obſerved, that the only obligation which the Romans had conſented to owe him, was that of having taught them "the "uſe of ice-punch."

This ſpeech was characteriſtic of him in a two-fold light—as a ſenſualiſt and as a man of humour. Thoſe two qualities—which, whether good or bad, are pretty generally aſſociated with frankneſs—concealed in the cardinal diſſimulation ſufficiently profound to miſlead even the chevalier Azara in forming his opinion of him. Buſca perceived that this miniſter was the only man in Rome who preſerved the coolneſs of ſober judgment amid the moſt violent tempeſts—the only one in whom the pope continued to place any confidence, and by whoſe aid "a man of talents, ſuch as *he* was," could hope to act a conſpicuous part. He attached himſelf to his company: he aſſiduouſly frequented the circle of the princeſs della Santa-Croce, which had long been the habitual rendezvous of the foreign miniſters, eſpecially thoſe of France and Spain. That lady was eſſentially kind, eaſy, obliging. The cardinal Buſca ſucceeded in his efforts

efforts to pleaſe her: he often ſaw at her houſe the chevalier Azara, and gave him teſtimonies of confidence, affection, deference. A cloſe intimacy took place between them; and the chevalier Azara, whom on other occaſions it was not eaſy to deceive, fancied he ſaw in him not only a friend, but alſo a man of amiable diſpoſition, refined underſtanding, and conciliating manner,—ſuch, in ſhort, as the pope could deſire for his miniſter in the critical circumſtances by which he was ſurrounded.

The cardinal Zelada was diſguſted with the miniſtry, and had given more than ſufficient proofs of his incapacity. Nothing more than the ſlighteſt hint was neceſſary to induce him to retire. The Spaniſh miniſter, who poiſed in his hand the deſtiny of Rome, was perfectly ſure of being able to influence the pontiff in his choice of a new ſecretary of ſtate. Our agent in Rome at this time was Cacault, who had for many years been employed in political miſſions in Italy, where he had won the general eſteem. Cacault frequently ſaw the cardinal Buſca, and had conceived of him as favourable an opinion as that entertained by the chevalier Azara. They both ſeemed to have forgotten a ſcene which had proved that thoſe forms of urbanity which the cardinal well knew how to aſſume, were a cloak under which lurked conſiderable violence and rudeneſs of paſſion. At table at the houſe of the princeſs della Santa-Croce, one of the gueſts, who excited his jealouſy, having indulged in ſome poignant ſallies, Buſca daſhed his plate in his rival's face. He would not have eſcaped a ſevere retaliation, if the princeſs had not interpoſed her conciliatory influence to ſeparate the two champions. Through reſpect for her, the quarrel was appeaſed, and the amiable cardinal was pardoned that "momentary ſtart of *vi-*
"*vacity.*"

This adventure was nearly forgotten when Buſca was propoſed to the pontiff by the Spaniſh miniſter to fill the poſt of Secretary of ſtate—that is to ſay, was appointed. The chevalier Azara ſoon had reaſon to reckon him among the number of thoſe who requited his favours by ingratitude, and Rome had equal cauſe to account him one of her moſt dangerous miniſters.

Of

Of the different factions which agitated Rome and oppreſſed the feeble pontiff with a load of heavy anxieties, the moſt active was that of the Albani, which was, on more than one account, devoted to the houſe of Auſtria. The cardinal of that name, as dean of the Sacred College, and by his birth a member of almoſt all the congregations, had great influence on the determinations of the Holy See. One of his nephews was nuncio at Vienna; another was employed about the perſon of the archduke Ferdinand, governor-general of Lombardy. Thus the whole family were, by the ties of intereſt, attached to the court of Vienna. They and all their adherents, the fanatics, the partiſans of the Engliſh and Neapolitans, vented murmurs of indignation at the bare ſound of our ſucceſſes in Italy, and exerted their utmoſt efforts to drag the court of Rome into the coalition of confederate Europe; not, however, on a preſumption that Pius could, as a temporal potentate, throw any great weight into the ſcale; but becauſe they knew that the Holy See ſtill retained a powerful empire over the conſciences of a part of Europe, and that, in the eyes of thoſe faithful ſons of the church, a cauſe became ſanctified by the adherence of the ſovereign pontiff.

The various enemies of France, then employed at Rome all the machinations of intrigue, at one time to depreciate our victories, at another to predict our diſaſters, and on every occaſion to defame both the principles of the French revolution and the men who laboured to eſtabliſh it. The moment our ſucceſſes appeared doubtful, thoſe intriguers inflamed the mind of government, urged the military preparations, and recommended meaſures of oppreſſion. Did we gain any advantages? they immediately receded: and the court of Rome, obedient to their impulſe, ſpoke in the language of conciliation, and adopted ſome ſteps tending to prove its pacific diſpoſition.

At this period the Neapolitans were preparing to ſend aſſiſtance to Auſtria; an object which they could not accompliſh without marching their troops through the territories of the Eccleſiaſtical State. Already they had advanced a body of three thouſand men to Ponte-Corvo, under pretence of preventing deſertion. This circumſtance

ſtance was an additional cauſe of embarraſſment to the court of Rome, who ſaw that they muſt repel, as a band of invaders, thoſe troops whoſe preſence they could not but ſecretly deſire for their own defence. Cacault, in a written memorial, declared to the cardinal ſecretary of ſtate, that, if the Neapolitans entered the Roman territory, his government would conſider the armiſtice as broken. This menacing notice was communicated to the court of Naples; and on the anſwer of that court was now to depend the alternative of peace or war.

The court of Rome were already involved in conſiderable perplexity, when they received a courier from Paris. His diſpatches related to the negotiation which was about to be commenced at Florence in conſequence of the armiſtice. The demands of the French government were peremptory. The hour of conqueſt was not yet come; but the ſeaſon of delicacy was already paſt. We demanded as a preliminary ſtep, a declaration by the pope, ſetting forth, that, whereas certain common enemies had ſurreptitiouſly obtained from his piety certain briefs which, in their principles and their effects, were contrary to the rights of nations, he "diſapproved and "annulled them." The injunction was ſevere: that the *infallible* pontiff ſhould, to the face of the univerſe, acknowledge himſelf to have been *miſtaken!* ſhould accuſe his friends! ſhould renounce them! But the danger was urgent, and called for a ſpeedy determination. Pius aſſembled a congregation more numerous than any of the preceding, and compoſed of all the moſt enlightened members of the Sacred College. Theſe were the dean Albani, Zelada, Gerdyl, Buſca, Antici, della Sommaglia, Antonelli, all cardinals of whom we have already ſpoken—Caraffa, a man of talents, but intriguing, dangerous, and avowedly hoſtile to the French—Roverella, one of thoſe whoſe pleaſing manner had recommended them to the pope, and who with ſuavity of diſpoſition united a mind tolerably well cultivated—Altieri, prudent and moderate even to timidity—Carandini, not deficient either in addreſs or capacity, but devoured by ſecret ambition, and univerſally hated and feared, &c.

Even

Even before this Areopagus had declared its opinion, Pius had again recourſe to the interpoſition of the chevalier Azara to diſſipate the ſtorm which was gathering againſt him at Florence. But the apparent homage, thus paid to his capacity, was only a mean employed by his enemies to remove him out of the way. He ſoon perceived that ſuch had been their view: for hardly had he ſet out on his miſſion when the ſapient congregation pronounced in the moſt ſtrongly negative terms on the pretenſions of the Gallic government. In particular, the two oracles of the Roman theology, Gerdyl and Antonelli, diſplayed all their eloquence and erudition to prove that the church was undone if her chief incurred the criminal baſeneſs of making the retrograde ſtep which was required of him. His briefs, they maintained, were conformable to the deciſions of the councils, the opinions of the holy fathers, &c.; and by a retractation of them he would ſanction all the in-roads made during the laſt ſeven years upon the rights of the church.

In dictating this deciſion, the ſpirit of fanaticiſm had perhaps leſs influence than the ſpirit of party—that is to ſay, of that Auſtrian faction which had thrown aſide the maſk ſince the departure of the chevalier Azara, and under whoſe banner the new ſecretary of ſtate had enrolled himſelf. The great negociator Galeppi, who had accompanied Azara, ſtill however contrived to ſave appearances. Suddenly returned from Florence, he arrives at Rome, has a conference with the pope, another with the cardinal Buſca. A new congregation, more numerous than the preceding, is directed to examine the conditions of peace propoſed by the French government, and rejects them as inadmiſſible. Galeppi returns to Florence to try the effect of a new attempt: but the predominant party at Rome were bent upon war; and the ſtep which they had taken rendered it unavoidable: they therefore make preparation for it, and by means which only increaſe the diſcontent of the people.

The pope depreciates the coin by increaſing its nominal value above one fourth.

He deprives the churches and private individuals of all their ſuperfluous plate.

He

He obliges all proprietors to ſell their corn at a low price to the department of the *annona*, and, in payment, to accept *cedole* at par, though at this time they were ſubject to a diſcount of above fifty *per cent.*

The military preparatives were now carried on with redoubled activity. A civic guard was organiſed at Rome; and the greateſt families aſpired to diſtinguiſh themſelves on the occaſion, The ſenator Rezzonico is nominated generaliſſimo of that guard: the three princes, Aldobrandini, Gabrielli, and Giuſtiniani, are appointed colonels. Thirty-two companies are formed, each conſiſting of a hundred and fifty men: numerous patrols ſcour the ſtreets by night and by day; and Rome *the holy* once more becomes Rome the warlike. Levies are made on all ſides; ſeven hundred men are diſpatched toward Bologna and Ferrara: the cardinal Buſca collects all the vagabonds ſcattered throughout the Eccleſiaſtical State, who are compelled either to take up arms in its defence or to quit the country: the militia aſſembles with activity: nought is ſeen in every direction but tranſportations of ſmall arms*, artillery, tents, waggons. Contributions of every ſpecies pour in from all quarters: gold, ſilver, jewels, *cedole*, proviſions, cattle, every thing is offered with a kind of enthuſiaſm which might have been miſtaken for that of patriotiſm. Several rich individuals levied corps at their own charge, or defrayed the expenſe of equipping or arming them—the conſtable Colonna, for inſtance, a complete regiment of infantry—the banker Turlonia, a company of cavalry conſiſting of eighty men fully equipped.

In this almoſt general ferment, equal activity is every where diſplayed. The Roman government, ſhaking off its habitual torpor, ſeems to have reſumed ſome portion of energy only for the purpoſe of running with haſty ſtrides to ruin. Pius, himſelf the tool of the predominant faction, ſends to all the catholic courts a manifeſto, in which, after having explained the ſtate of his negotiation

* The expreſſion in the original is ſomewhat different, viz. *armes blanches*, compriſing ſwords, bayonets, pikes, &c. &c. but excluding all kinds of fire-arms.

tion with France, he calls upon them to unite in the defence of religion. At the ſame time he addreſſes to his ſubjects a proclamation exhorting them to take up arms for the purpoſe of repelling the aggreſſor. He ſuſpends the execution of the armiſtice, which had already been commenced. Half a million, on account of the contribution which he had to pay, was by this time at Rimini: he ordered it to be brought back, together with the cattle that conſtituted a part of the fourth million payable in articles of proviſion. The ſeven hundred thouſand crowns drawn from the caſtle of Saint-Angelo for the ſame purpoſe, were carried back to the coffers whence they had been taken: the ſtatues already packed up in caſes, were replaced in their former ſtations: the cardinal Pignatelli, who was advanced on his journey toward Breſcia, received orders to return.

All theſe meaſures, liable to the charge of raſhneſs at leaſt, were principally concerted with the courtof Vienna; but from that of Naples likewiſe, ſupport was confidently expected; when ſuddenly the Roman government were informed that the marquis del Vaſto had juſt ſigned a treaty of peace between that court and the French republic. They inſtantly conſidered themſelves as undone; and in fact ſo they were, but for a combination of circumſtances to which the papacy was indebted for the ephemeral prolongation of its exiſtence.

Let poſterity determine what motives could have induced Buonaparte to ſpare the pontifical throne which it would have been ſo eaſy for him to cruſh under the wheels of his triumphal car; ſuffice it for us to retrace here a ſummary ſketch of thoſe facts of which we have been witneſſes.

The chevalier Azara, who had gone to Florence in the hope of ſaving the court of Rome, felt ſomething more than aſtoniſhment on learning, that, in his abſence, ſo great and ſucceſsful pains were taken to ruin it; and that, inſtead of wiſhing for his return, the cabal openly congratulated themſelves on having reſcued the pontiff from his influence. Pius knew not well how he ought to conduct himſelf toward the Spaniſh miniſter: on the one hand, he dared not venture to follow his

counſels,

counſels; on the other, he was afraid of diſpleaſing the court of Madrid. In October 1796, he thought it incumbent on him to make a direct application to Charles IV., requeſting him to interpoſe his mediation between France and the Holy See.

The Spaniſh monarch returned a very affectionate anſwer, in which however he explicitly declined the requeſted interference. The pontiff now felt how unwiſely he had acted in abandoning Azara to the blind indignation of the fanatics. The cardinal Buſca endeavoured to preſerve toward the chevalier a ſemblance of cordiality and gratitude even at the moment while he entertained with the court of Vienna a perfidious connexion, of which the intended iſſue was to terminate in the overturning of all that the Spaniſh miniſter had accompliſhed: and in his correſpondence, to which he laboured to give the appearance of friendſhip, he had intimated to him that the pope would feel himſelf ſeriouſly embarraſſed if, at ſo critical a juncture, that miniſter were again to make his appearance at Rome. This was the circumſtance that gave riſe to the letter written by Azara to cardinal Buſca in the year 1796,—a letter certainly not intended for publication, but which nevertheleſs was publiſhed.

That letter was noble and lofty: the juſt reſentment that warmed Azara's breaſt, was diſguiſed in it under the forms of friendſhip and familiarity, which however did not prevent it from being extremely apparent. He gave the papal miniſter information of the treaty which we had recently concluded with the Neapolitan court, and of the conſequences which muſt thence reſult to the Holy See. "I ought not," added he, "to communi-
"cate ſuch intelligence to a miniſter who is not at li-
"berty to enter into explanations with a *poor infected*
"*mortal:* but my heart is weak, and feels an affection
"for my friends, even when they are *ungrateful*, becauſe
"it ſuppoſes them to be miſtaken, and willing to be
"undeceived."—"I ſee," added he in another place,
"that, in ſpite of evil influence, he" (the pope who had written to him) "retains a friendſhip and kindneſs
"for me: aſſure him that I am very far from wiſhing to

" to expoſe him to the inconvenience which he might " ſuffer from my return to Rome. I well know to " what exceſs a crowd of phrenſied fools are capable " of proceeding: they may cauſe the Spaniſh palace to " be ſet on fire, my furniture to be deſtroyed—they may " indulge in every outrage againſt me—but they cannot " diſturb the peace of my conſcience. It does not be- " come me to obtrude my advice, while you have ſo " many other adviſers: yet, as a laſt token of my friend- " ſhip, I muſt inform you that a moment may ſave you " at the expenſe of ſome ſacrifices: but, that moment " once elapſed, your ruin will be complete . . . . . " If a reliance on your own ſtrength, if your arma- " ments, inſpire you with confidence, *conſummatum eſt**." —" Aſſure the pope," ſaid he in concluſion, " that I " am his friend, not his flatterer." Then aſſuming with the cardinal a tone of familiar gaiety which reminded him of his former connexions with the Spaniſh miniſter, and of one of his Eminence's favourite inclinations, " As to you," ſaid he, " moſt eminent ſecreta- " ry! I would be ſtrongly tempted to give you a drub- " bing, and then to dine with you on turkey and truffles. " Adieu! I beſtow on you my benediction."

But theſe reproaches were ineffectual, theſe advices came too late: the pope was too cloſely ſurrounded by evil counſellors, to be any longer acceſſible to the voice of reaſon. In vain was Cacault veſted with plenipotential authority to negociate: in vain did Buonaparte ſend information to the pope that his holineſs had it in his power to obtain terms leſs ſevere than thoſe which had been ſent to him from Florence; that, for his own part, he wiſhed " rather to be the ſaviour of the head of the " church, and of thoſe beautiful countries, than their " deſtroyer." The only anſwer obtained by Cacault, was, that the court of Rome lay under engagements to the emperor, whom it was therefore neceſſary for them to conſult in the firſt inſtance.

Accordingly there exiſted at that time a very active negotiation between monſignor Albani and the cabinet of Vienna. At firſt the interpreter of the Holy See was very indifferently received: he heard the court of Rome

* The buſineſs is done—'tis all over with you.

condemned for having ſigned the armiſtice and formed a connexion with the court of Naples without the emperor's conſent; nor did he obtain more than a hope that his imperial majeſty would not abandon the cauſe of the church.

The coldneſs of his reception nearly had the effect of leading back the court of Rome into the path of prudence, and inducing them to reſume the negotiations which had been commenced at Florence. Such indeed was the conduct recommended by ſome of the cardinals, and particularly by Valenti and Antici: but the opinion of cardinal Albani prevailed "There is," ſaid he to the congregation, "nothing ſurpriſing in the reception "of which you complain: it is only a natural conſequence "of the German manners: let us temporiſe: we may "reſt aſſured that the court of Vienna will again come "over to us."

The event in ſome meaſure verified the predictions of the cardinal dean. Soon after, a courier from his nephew arrives with information that the emperor had conſented to an alliance with the pontiff, and promiſed to ſend him general Colli, ſeveral officers, and ten thouſand men, to drive the French from both the legations.

This intelligence intoxicated with joy the pope and that crowd of fanatics who wiſhed for war, from whoſe dangers they were perſonally exempt. The delirium appeared univerſal in Rome, becauſe moderate men were ſilent and ſighed in ſecret. Whoever ſhould have attempted to open the eyes of the court of Rome to the inanity of their projects, and to the dangers which they courted, would have been branded as a *Jacobin*. The fatal war into which they had determined to plunge, was clothed with all the forms of a war *in defence of religion*.

Each body of troops, previous to their departure, aſſiſted at a ſermon well calculated to fire their boſoms with fanaticiſm. The volunteer cavalry, before they commenced their march, devoted a week, not to tactical manœuvres, but to *ſpiritual exerciſes*. On the ſixth of January 1797, were conſecrated, in Saint Peter's church, the colours of ſeveral corps who were ready to take the field. On thoſe colours was embroidered a croſs in imitation

tation of the *labarum* of Conſtantine, accompanied by the following inſcription, an infallible preſage of victory —"*In hoc ſigno vinces.*"—"Go!" cried the fanatic monks who were commiſſioned to exhort thoſe patriot heroes—"go fight in the cauſe of religion! Imitate "your anceſtors! Go, and conquer the univerſe!"

Amid this phrenſy of enthuſiaſm, it was difficult to obtain a hearing for the language of moderation. Cacault nevertheleſs attempted it: he propoſed ſome conditions which under any other circumſtances would have been accepted. The Neapolitan miniſter, the marquis del Vaſto, who at this time poſſeſſed conſiderable influence, acted as mediator in hope of inducing the court of Rome to accede to them. But the congregation being conſulted, rejected them almoſt unanimouſly; demanding, as a preliminary, the reſtitution of the two legations.

During theſe tranſactions, on the twentieth of January arrives general Colli, whoſe preſence inſpires the Romans with additional boldneſs. He viſits his holineſs's petty army: he is pleaſed with the ſoldiers, diſſatisfied with the officers: he demands augmentations, particularly in cavalry. The pope repoſes in him a blind confidence, and intruſts him with the exerciſe of his ſovereign power. He ſtrains every nerve to complete, under the command of the Auſtrian general, the number of at leaſt ſix thouſand horſe and eight thouſand foot.—But Buonaparte is ſoon to re-appear upon the ſtage, and the ſcene will quickly change.

That youthful conqueror, obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Mantua, and marched with a detachment of his army to ſtrike a blow at Leghorn. At the expiration of three weeks he was returned. In the interval of his abſence, the ſcattered parts of his army had formed a union. Our enemies, whoſe hopes had been re-animated by that diverſion to a point remote from the principal theatre of the war, now ſpeedily ſaw all their projects overthrown. The year 1796 concluded with a ſeries of ſucceſſes ſo brilliant and rapid and numerous, that the military hiſtory of the univerſe cannot perhaps furniſh a more memorable epoch.

It was during this time that the pope carried on his

negotiations with the emperor, and obtained from him the promiſe of ten thouſand men and one of his generals. We already had ſtrong reaſons for ſuſpecting this perfidious under-plot, when Buonaparte found poſitive proof of it in an intercepted letter from the cardinal Buſca to monſignor Albani who ſo faithfully ſerved at Vienna the anti-gallican faction in Rome. The cardinal very explicitly ſaid in that letter—"So long as I am allowed to "hope for aſſiſtance from the emperor, I will temporiſe "with reſpect to the propoſitions of peace made to us "by the French." And in another place—"Still true "to my opinion, and jealous of my honour, which I "think hurt by treating with the French while there "exiſts a negotiation expending between us and the "court of Vienna." He ſpoke in it with great frankneſs reſpecting general Colli: he impatiently awaited his arrival, he calculated with monſignor Albani the means of exciting a civil war in France, "without too "deeply implicating the Holy See," &c.

After ſuch a diſcovery there was no longer any delicacy to be obſerved toward the court of Rome. On the thirteenth of Pluvioſe (February 18, 1797) Buonaparte, from his head-quarters at Bologna, declared, that, the pope having formally refuſed to execute two articles of the armiſtice concluded on the ſecond of Meſſidor preceding—having inceſſantly continued to excite people to the cruſade againſt France—having even cauſed his troops to advance within ten miles of Bologna—having commenced hoſtile negotiations with the court of Vienna—and, finally, having refuſed to anſwer the pacific overtures made by citizen Cacault, miniſter of the French republic, &c.—the armiſtice was broken.

Immediately after the promulgation of this ſpecies of manifeſto, the French army invaded the Eccleſiaſtical State, ſeiſed upon Imola, Forli, Ceſena (the pope's birth-place); and, in the outſet, Pius ſuffered the loſs of four or five hundred men killed, a thouſand priſoners, four pieces of artillery, &c.

Colli, however, was exempt from diſgrace of theſe firſt diſaſters. He had not reached Rome until the twelfth of January; when he immediately beſtowed his attention on the organiſation of the papal forces. But our warriors gained ſo rapid ſucceſſes that the commander

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in chief of the troops of the Holy See was ſoon left without an army to command. In few days the French made themſelves maſters of Romagna, the duchy of Urbino, and the marquiſate of Ancona; and on the thirtieth of Pluvioſe (February 18) Buonaparte dated his diſpatches from his head-quarters at Tolentino, ſome leagues beyond Loreto: for the celebrated image of the Virgin of that place had performed no miracles to check the rapidity of our career. The *Santa Caſa*, which contained it, was ſituate on an eminence commanding the ſhore of the Adriatic, from which it is two miles and half diſtant. Defended by a feeble wall, two ſmall forts, and a garriſon of twelve men, what reſources did it poſſeſs for reſiſtance on every ſide, and particularly on that of the land? But the beach is unapproachable except by boats: and that wall, thoſe forts, the proximity of the fortreſs of Ancona—the ſtrength of the church containing the treaſures, which is ſolidly built, and ſecured with brazen gates—the *Santa Caſa* itſelf being coated with marble and ſhut with iron doors—all theſe circumſtances combined were ſufficient to preſerve the revered image from the rapacity of the infidels. The pope little ſuſpected by what kind of *infidels* this monument of ſuperſtition was to be plundered: it ſuffered that fate from the hands of the French ſo eaſily victorious. A laviſh profuſion of diamonds ornamented the Virgin and the infant Jeſus: but devotees are credulous and far from quick-ſighted; and the profane viſit of Buonaparte was neceſſary to convince the world that the greater number of thoſe diamonds were equally falſe as the divinity to whom they were conſecrated.

Meanwhile what were the Romans doing? They had at firſt ſuffered their imaginations to be dazzled by the moſt brilliant illuſions on ſeeing that the emperor ſeriouſly attended to the intereſts of the Holy See: anti-gallican hatred was ſuffered to rage uncontroled: Frenchmen were impriſoned: our commiſſioners were inſulted, and particularly our miniſter Cacault. But, on hearing of the triumphant march of the Gallic army, Rome trembled, and turned her attention toward the means of appeaſing the reſentment of the exaſperated conqueror.

That conqueror, however, was leſs formidable than the

the Romans ſuppoſed him: he did not wiſh to overturn the pontifical throne; and he now gave a ſecond proof of his diſpoſition in that reſpect.

When, in the preceding year, after he had invaded the legatine governments of Bologna and Ferrara, there broke forth an inſurrection in the latter, the little town of Lugo, which had been the principal focus of the diſorder, was indeed treated with great rigor: but the hand of vengeance ſtopped there: for Buonaparte aimed only at producing repentance; witneſs, his treatment of cardinal Mattei, archbiſhop of Ferrara.

Sprung from one of the principal families of Rome, and elevated to the higheſt dignities of the church, Mattei was as ſimple as a village-prieſt, and with all the ſincerity of his heart a fanatic. At the approach of the French, he had mounted his pulpit and declaimed againſt them with truly apoſtolic zeal. Buonaparte, victorious in ſpite of his eminence's holy oratory, ſent for him, reprimanded him, and ordered him to priſon. On the morrow he ſummoned him to his preſence, and made him undergo a long admonition, to which the good cardinal made no other anſwer than a humble *peccava**. Buonaparte, affected by his docility, propoſed to him, as an atonement for his offences, to go in perſon to Rome, there to negotiate a ſolid peace, and thus to ſave his country and his ſovereign.

Mattei embraced the offer with enthuſiaſm, and promiſed every thing that was required of him, provided that the ſpiritual rights of the Holy See ſhould remain inviolate. He more than once repeated—"We can re-"ſignedly ſubmit to every temporal ſacrifice: but, for "God's ſake, dear general! let us not meddle with "ſpiritual matters." In this diſpoſition he ſet out for Rome, where at firſt he experienced an indifferent reception becauſe he made profeſſion of pacific ſentiments which did not accord with thoſe of the Holy See: but it was ſoon glad to employ his interpoſition.

He had now continued at Rome ſince the month of October 1796: and, on the news of Buonaparte's ſucceſſes, he wrote to that conqueror a pathetic letter which did

* I have tranſgreſſed—I have done wrong.

did not fail to produce its intended effect. Buonaparte anſwered it on the twenty-fifth of Pluvioſe: "I recog-"niſe," ſaid he to the cardinal, "in the letter that you "have taken the trouble of writing to me, that ſim-"plicity of manners which characteriſes you."—The general then entered into ſome details reſpecting the cauſes of complaint which the court of Rome had given to France, and concluded with theſe words—"I am "willing once more to prove to entire Europe the mo-"deration of the directory of the French republic, by "granting him* *five days* to ſend a negotiator, provided "with full powers, who ſhall repair to Foligno, where "I ſhall be," &c.

Inſtead of a ſingle plenipotentiary, the pope without delay ſent him four—his nephew the duke Ludovico-Braſchi, and the marquis Camillo Maſſimi, merely for the ſake of adding dignity to the tranſaction—the cardinal Mattei, as perſonally known to Buonaparte—and monſignor Galeppi, an acute and dextrous negotiator, and, of the four, the one upon whom he placed the greateſt reliance. They had an interview with Buonaparte an Tolentino, inſtead of Foligno, the place before appointed.

The conferences at firſt proceeded ſlowly. The plenipotentiaries attempted to higgle about a few millions: but Buonaparte, who was equally in haſte to levy a ſort of contribution on the Eccleſiaſtical State, and to return and place himſelf again at the head of his army to invade the hereditary ſtates of the emperor—Buonaparte, tired of the tedious progreſs of the Roman negotiators, ſaid to cardinal Mattei on the eighteenth of February 1797, "If you do not to-morrow give unreſerved con-"ſent to all my propoſitions, on the following day I'll "march againſt Rome."—On the morrow the good cardinal waited on the general, ſaying, "We conſent to "the whole."

Immediately they began to draw up the articles: they dined: after dinner the treaty was concluded: they ſigned it: they ſupped, embraced each other, and ſeparated. The next day Buonaparte, with the officers of his ſtaff, was on his way to Auſtria, having left behind him general Victor, who, with an army of fifteen thouſand men, formed a line acroſs the Eccleſiaſtical State, from Perugia to

* The Pope.

to Ancona, and remained there until the articles of the treaty were carried into execution. The principal of thoſe articles were in ſubſtance as follow—

The pope ſhall pay thirty-one millions.

He ſhall furniſh ſixteen hundred horſes fully caparisoned.

He ſhall grant a penſion to the family of Baſſeville.

There ſhall be a treaty of commerce concluded with France.

All Romagna ſhall be free; and there ſhall be a French garriſon at Ancona.

While this treaty was under negotiation, the greater part of the Eccleſiaſtical State was occupied by the French arms; and all was confuſion at Rome. Terror had ſilenced reſentment. There was neither courage nor unanimity in the councils: not a man to be found who was capable of directing the meaſures which circumſtances required. The pope in particular was panic-ſtruck; and, while his deputies were ſetting out for Tolentino, he was making his preparations for retiring to Naples. A conſiderable treaſure was to have been ſent before him to Terracina. On the report of that project, the people flocked in crowds to the bank to exchange their *cedole*, which they offered at a diſcount of ſeventy per cent. The treaſure diſappeared: the pontiff was diverted from his project; and, to give a different direction to the people's thoughts, he laviſhly treated them with proceſſions, the forty hours' prayers, and pulpit invective againſt the French.

With reſpect to general Colli, he ſoon perceived that he had been placed at the head of troops who ran away at the ſlighteſt ſhadow of danger. He had reaſon to congratulate himſelf on the reſolution which the pope had taken of terminating ſo unfortunate a war with all poſſible ſpeed: but he had the mortification of ſeeing the pontiff's deputies ſet out to beg a peace at Tolentino without giving him any notice, and the treaty afterward ſigned without any intimation to him of what was going forward. Never had a campaign been of ſhorter duration, never miſſion leſs ſucceſsful. He haſted to quit a theatre where he had found neither glory nor reſpect.

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The pope had much ſtronger claims to pity, if indeed compaſſion be due to merited misfortunes. He ſaw the fabric of his hopes overthrown, three of his provinces irrecoverably loſt, his coffers empty, his ſubjects diſcontented, and already exhauſted by the pecuniary efforts which the armiſtice had required. New exertions however were neceſſary to fulfil the conditions of the recent treaty. On the twenty-fourth of February, the cardinal Buſca publiſhed a mournful proclamation, in which he reminded the pontiff's ſubjects, that, "on "the ſixth of July preceding, they had been called up"on to deliver up the whole of their plate; that after"ward the pope had graciouſly contented himſelf with "one half; but that, the preſent conjuncture being yet "more critical than the former, his holineſs commanded "that the remaining moiety of thoſe articles of gold and "ſilver ſhould within the ſpace of three days be carried "to the pontifical treaſury.

This was one of the laſt public acts performed by that cardinal Buſca who had ſo inſolently betrayed the confidence repoſed in him by the miniſters of France and Spain. The pope, to convince the French government of the ſincerity of his converſion, thought it neceſſary to diſmiſs the perfidious miniſter who had led him aſtray, and well nigh ruined him. By that ſtep he particularly wiſhed to appeaſe the chevalier Azara, whom a very juſt reſentment kept as it were in exile at Florence. Accordingly, as ſoon as Buſca was retired from office, preſſing ſolicitations were made to induce the Spaniſh miniſter to return to Rome. Accordingly he did return, but not till after the expiration of a month. The pride of the Holy See, however, would not ſuffer the public to entertain an idea that it was ſolely for the purpoſe of gratifying the court of Madrid that the cardinal had been diſmiſſed. A report was ſpread in Rome that the pope had only yielded to the expreſs deſire of Buſca himſelf.

The choice of a perſon to ſucceed him was embarraſſing. The poſt of prime miniſter could not be given to any cardinal againſt whom ſtrong prepoſſeſſions were entertained by the French government—a circumſtance which neceſſarily excluded a great number of the members of the Sacred College. The Neapolitan miniſter, the marquis del Vaſto, was at this time all-powerful in Rome.

Rome. He was the ſoul of the party who had hurried the Holy See into ill-judged meaſures, and whoſe hopes had been ſo completely diſappointed. He had recently cemented an alliance between his family and that of the cardinal Doria, of whom a favourable idea had been formed in France, and with whom the French and Spaniſh miniſters had always lived on a footing of intimacy. He thought that the choice of ſuch a miniſter would reconcile all the different intereſts; and, while he only conſulted his own private affection, he well enough promoted our views. The cardinal Doria united a good underſtanding with purity of intentions, but poſſeſſed neither the experience nor the energy which the circumſtances of the times would have required. He did not perſonally merit any ſerious reproaches from us: and, though he was unable to ſupport the tottering fabric of the Roman government, at leaſt he did not contribute to accelerate its fall.

But that government had already received the fatal ſhock, and the peace of Tolentino could not ſave it from ruin. That pacification had only increaſed the diſaſters, the diſcontents, and the exhauſtion of the ſtate. The papal territories were every where ſhaken by violent convulſions: in the marquiſate of Ancona, at Macerata, at Ieſi, at Monte-Sant-Elpidio, inſurrectionary attacks were made upon the French; nor was it without bloody execution that the rebels bould be repreſſed. In the duchy of Urbino, on the contrary, where the Gallic invaſion had excited a reliſh and a hope of liberty, the people felt extreme reluctance to bend their necks anew to the pontifical yoke: and in a ſtate much more contiguous to the capital, in the Perugino, there exiſted a wiſh to ſhake off the papal chain, and form a union with the Cis-Padane republic. Never had any country groaned under the infliction of ſo many ſcourges at the ſame moment.

The reſentment of Spain furniſhed an additional cauſe of chagrin to the Holy See. Charles IV. had felt deep indignation at the manner in which the court of Rome had behaved toward the chevalier Azara: and he thought it inconſiſtent with his dignity that he ſhould again make his appearance there until he had received ſignal ſatisfaction. Nevertheleſs, when the Spaniſh monarch ſaw the

the Eccleſiaſtical State invaded by our troops, and the holy father threatened in his very capital, his filial piety was moved: the chevalier Azara was authoriſed to return to his poſt, and accordingly he went back to Rome in April 1797.

Charles went further, but under the influence of certain motives which the Holy See did not perhaps ſuſpect till afterward.—There were then at this court two prelates, ſuppoſed to be very active intriguers, and whom a prevalent party wiſhed to remove out of the way under ſome plauſible pretext. The critical poſition in which his holineſs at this time ſtood, furniſhed ſuch a pretext: a propoſal was made to them of going to compliment the pope, to give him conſolation, to aid him by their counſels: and, for the purpoſe of concealing the real object of this miſſion, the precaution was taken of decorating it by the addition of a prelate reſpectable for his character, as well as the regularity of his conduct and his exalted dignity—the cardinal Lorenzana, archbiſhop of Toledo. The two prelates who accompanied him were d'Eſpuig, archbiſhop of Seville, who had formerly been at Rome in the quality of auditor of the *Rota*—and Muſquiz, archbiſhop of Seleucia, and ghoſtly director to the queen.

Theſe three prelates ſet out under a perſuaſion that they were going to fulfil a very important miſſion. D'Eſpuig, in particular, who entertained ambitious views, did not doubt that it would conduct him to the honours of the cardinalate and the office of protector of the churches of Spain. The cardinal Lorenzana, much more ſimple in his manners as well as his deſires, and ſincerely attached to the Holy See, undertook the journey to Rome as an apoſtolic peregrination. He was a devoted ſon going to aid his parent in diſtreſs. The reverend fathers of the order of Mercy, with whom he had formerly had connexions, had prepared a lodging in their convent for him and his two fellow-travellers. The chevalier Azara had recently returned to Rome, where he ſtill had numerous enemies. Wiſhing to remove the cardinal Lorenzana beyond the reach of their influence, he urgently preſſed him to come and reſide in the palace of Spain. The two other prelates remained with the monks

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of the order of Mercy, and ſoon diſcovered the inanity of their miſſion.

This triple embaſſy, which had made ſo much noiſe in Spain and Italy, finally appeared to have had no other object than a ſimple homage paid by his catholic majeſty to the head of the church. The archbiſhop of Seville and the queen's confeſſor returned to Spain after the expiration of a few months; the cardinal Lorenzana alone continuing with the pope, whom he did not abandon even in his concluding misfortunes. This was one conſolation which the pious and humane Charles wiſhed to leave to the dethroned pontiff.

Commotions, anxieties of every kind, lively alarms, ſerious loſſes, a cataſtrophe which coſt him at once his money and his peace and his glory, humiliations, inſurrections, every thing that can render a prince's reign tempeſtuous—ſuch were the events that marked for Pius the chief part of the year 1797. He was as deeply affected by them as he poſſibly could be: he was attacked by ſo ſevere a malady during the month of May, that the choice of a ſucceſſor was already become an object of deliberation. Three candidates were placed on the liſt—Mattei, whoſe interpoſition had obtained peace for the Holy See, and who was ſuppoſed to be leſs diſagreeable to France than any other cardinal—Antici, whoſe addreſs and activity we have more than once had occaſion to mention—and Chiaramonte, who was ſupported by the older cardinals who were the moſt ſtrongly attached to the obſolete pretenſions of the court of Rome.

Pius's recovery fruſtrated many calculations, diſappointed many hopes, and even excited diſſatisfaction among the Romans, who are more deſirous of changes than any other people. The duke Braſchi felt the effects of their ill-humour: coming out from his convaleſcent uncle, he was ſtunned with a peal of hiſſes; and, not daring to return to his own palace, he immediately ſet out for Terracina, taking his way through his duchy of Nemi. This was a new ſymptom of that fermentation which was beginning to diſcover itſelf in ſeveral parts of the papal dominions, and even at Rome, where the

the ſcarcity of ſpecie inflamed the public diſcontent to the higheſt degree. That thirſt of revolution which had already poſſeſſed a certain portion of the people, ſhowed itſelf in various modes. On the gate of that ſame duke Braſchi, had been written in read letters theſe menacing words—" *Arrendetevi, tiranni! O morte, o libertà* * *!*" Bills were alſo ſtuck up in various places, holding forth the ſame alarming alternative. The *Carmagnole* and other patriotic airs were publicly ſung; and people were heard to ſay aloud in the ſtreets, " As ſoon as the pope " dies, the face of affairs will be changed." No meaſures were ſpared that could tend to provoke an inſurrection, or at leaſt to excite the apprehenſion of ſuch an event. In one place was read on the walls, " The " time is come;" in another, " Rome is in her laſt " agony †." In the beginning of Auguſt, a paper was ſeen poſted up, which contained the following lines:

" Non abbiamo pazienza:
" Non vogliamo più eminenza,
" Non vogliamo più ſantità,
" Ma eguaglianza e libertà ‡."

For ſome time the Roman government continued to witneſs theſe diſorders with nearly paſſive apathy: but about the middle of the year 1797 they appeared to aſſume ſo alarming an aſpect, that it very unſeaſonably relinquiſhed that ſyſtem of torpid inactivity, which never could have proved ſo fatal to it as the vigilance and ſeverity

* Submit, ye tyrants! Death or liberty!

† Literally, " *at the extreme unction*," in alluſion to the popiſh ceremony of anointing ſick perſons with conſecrated oil in their laſt agonies.

‡ Our patience is exhauſted: we do not chooſe to have any more Eminences or Holineſſes, but liberty and equality.

verity that it thought neceſſary to be exerted in theſe latter times. The garriſon of Rome was changed, and augmented with additional force: the caſtle of Saint-Angelo was ſupplied with proviſions and ammunition, as if there had exiſted an intention of making it ſuſtain a regular ſiege; and troops were ſtationed in different quarters of the city.

Theſe, however, were only precautionary meaſures, for which the influence of urgent terror might be admitted as a reaſonable apology: but when the government was ſeen to employ moreover the expedients of trembling and oppreſſive deſpotiſm—to arreſt perſons who appeared *ſuſpicious*, ſuch as Angelucci, a ſkilful ſurgeon and a zealous patriot, who has ſince been ſo amply avenged for that tranſient outrage—two brothers, of the name of Bouchard, bookſellers—Aſcanelli, a rich Jew, in whoſe houſe were aſſerted to have been found ten thouſand yellow cockades (the colour worn by the Romans), a quantity of fire-arms, three trees of liberty, &c.—from that moment people ſaid that "the laſt hour "of the papacy was at hand."

The pecuniary embarraſſments, which alone would have been ſufficient to excite a revolution, were a ſerious addition to the many already exiſting cauſes of anxiety. The contribution which the French had exacted by the treaty of Tolentino, had exhauſted every public, every private, coffer. The pontiff had been obliged to repeat his emiſſions of *cedole*, conſequently to depreciate ſtill lower that paper-money which was already in ſo low a ſtate of depreciation. The riches of the church ſtill preſented him with ſome reſources. Thoſe ſcruples which reſpect that *ſacred* property in ordinary times, were now wholly unſeaſonable: accordingly, in the month of Auguſt, all the clergy, ſecular and regular, were ordered to exhibit a minute ſtatement of their property, and within ſix months to furniſh a loan to the amount of one-ſixth of its value at an intereſt of three per cent.

This edict increaſed the public diſcontent. The clergy openly accuſed Pius of violating the ſacred canons, the bulls, and the oaths by which he had bound himſelf on his acceſſion to the pontifical throne. He had gone

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to Vienna, they obſerved, " for the expreſs purpoſe of " diverting Joſeph II. from his intention of devoting a " part of the church property to the neceſſities of his " ſtate; and now himſelf imitated the conduct of that " philoſophic prince." The pope could hardly appear in public without being hooted and hiſſed. Several cardinals were even inſulted with abuſive language, among others the cardinal Carandini, who fell ſick of chagrin in conſequence of it. The Roman purple was not accuſtomed to be treated with ſuch irreverence. But it was principally againſt the cardinal nephew that the torrent of popular indignation was directed. His name, ſurrounded with diſgraceful epithets, was diſplayed in all the inflammatory bills with which every wall in Rome was covered.

The fermentation now ſpread through all ranks and all ages. At this period was diſcovered a kind of conſpiracy formed among the ſtudents, who were impatient of the yoke of their preceptors, and enamoured of the tricolor cockade. The elements of a revolution were collecting and combining; and it was foreſeen that a ſingle ſpark falling among this heap of combuſtible materials would produce a conflagration: but it did not yet appear probable that it would be France who ſhould ſet fire to it by hurling her thunder into the collected pile. Still ſmaller ſeemed the probability that a government which by its weakneſs was ſo deeply intereſted in preventing every criſis, ſhould itſelf provoke that under which it ſank in ruin. A feeble government, long known to be ſuch, cannot with impunity make a diſplay of force. The arreſts, the proſcriptions, inſtead of curing, exaſperated the diſeaſe; and deſpotiſm, after a vain effort to inſpire terror, was itſelf terrified in turn.

Under pretence of maintaining peace in the city, the regular troops and militia received orders to hold themſelves in readineſs for every event. The pope required that ſix men of the company which conſtituted his guard of honour ſhould be poſted every night in his ante-chamber, and the ſame number on the outſide of the Vatican. The time was now no more when his guards were only employed for the decoration of his court! Without having ever indulged in any violent exceſſes,

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he ſaw himſelf, by vanity and improvidence and obſtinacy, reduced to the painful condition of ſuſpicious tyrants.

Amid this general ſubverſion produced by the conflict of ſo many contending paſſions, it was almoſt impoſſible to advance a ſtep in any direction without exciting murmurs. The individuals, whether French or Romans, who were held in confinement, loudly complained of injuſtice and oppreſſion: they maintained, that, ſince they ſuffered on account of the Gallic revolution, whoever was veſted with any power by the French government was of courſe their natural protector; nor could they pardon either luke-warmneſs, tardineſs, or even diſcuſſion, on the part of the political or military agents whoſe interpoſition they implored.

During theſe tranſactions, arrived at Rome, as miniſter plenipotentiary of the French republic, Joſeph Buonaparte, brother to the general. Every eye was anxiouſly turned toward this new repreſentative of France: every individual ſtudied to interpret his moſt trifling words, his moſt inſignificant actions: the devotees thought or affected to think that a French republican muſt neceſſarily be a man of repulſive demeanour, regardleſs of the cuſtoms of different countries, and eſpecially void of religion. They were therefore agreeably ſurpriſed to find him conciliating, full of urbanity, and particularly to ſee him go to maſs. His behaviour in the outſet, his language, ſtruck them as ominous of good; and the partiſans of the Holy See began to imagine that it yet reſted on ſolid foundations The French republic, however, ſtill had reaſon to be diſpleaſed with it on more than one ground—

It kept on foot a greater number of troops than it ought to have done after the concluſion of the peace:

Romans, foreigners, particularly Frenchmen, were perſecuted through hatred of the Gallic revolution:

The pope ſeemed to feel a repugnance to the formation of any connexion with the Cis-Alpine republic:

French emigrants and refractory prieſts, even ſince the eighteenth of Fructidor in the fifth year of the republic (Sept. 4, 1797), flocked in crowds to Rome, and were there well received:

Finally,

Finally, a new Auſtrian general, Provera, was come from Vienna to take the command of the papal troops.

The miniſter Buonaparte energetically explained himſelf on all theſe heads, and obtained ſome half-ſucceſſes. The peace of Campo-Formio had recently been ſigned; and the court of Rome could not now entertain any perfidious hope, any concealed plan lurking behind the veil of ſtudied appearances.

Several of the perſons detained in priſon were ſet at liberty, and, among others, Angelucci and the two brothers of the name of Bouchard. After a ſhort time, thoſe three martyrs of liberty ſet out from Rome, as it were in triumph, and amid the acclamations of the multitude, to go and preſent themſelves to Buonaparte at Raſtadt, and thank him for their deliverance, which was in great meaſure his work. The enthuſiaſm which they excited, eſpecially at the moment of their departure, gave conſiderable umbrage to the friends of the papacy, who ſaid that thoſe exceſſive demonſtrations of joy were "inſults to the government."

In truth, the Roman government were in every point of view degraded. They had nobody to whom they could intruſt the command of their petty army: they had not been able to retain Provera who had been ſent to them by the court of Vienna; for Buonaparte had informed the pope, through the medium of his brother, that, unleſs that Auſtrian general quitted Rome within twenty-four hours, he would march into the Eccleſiaſtical State and recommence hoſtilities.

The cardinal Doria was commiſſioned to communicate to Provera the intentions of the French general, and accompanied the execution of that diſagreeable taſk with all the forms which could tend to render it excuſable. Provera only requeſted a reſpite of two days, which was granted to him. Previous to his departure, he waited on the pope, who received him with tears in his eyes, and aſſured him that nothing but force could reduce him to that extremity. The next day Provera was on his way to Naples.

At the ſame time the papacy ſtood in a very embarraſſing poſition with reſpect to the Cis-Alpine republic, a

dangerous and importunate neighbour, who, indignant at the proofs of ill-will given to her by the court of Rome, had already determined to declare war againſt the Holy See. Pius ſent to Milan a miniſter commiſſioned in his name to acknowledge the new republic. But this tardy recognition did not diſarm the anger of the Cis-Alpine government, which had not only reproaches in reſerve for the papacy, but alſo claims to advance at its expenſe.

Thoſe claims related to certain portions of the marquiſate of Ancona and of the duchy of Urbino, which had been diſmembered from the exarchate of Ravenna by king Pepin, and given to pope Stephen III. This was going very far back in queſt of very feeble arguments: but the Cis-Alpine government added arguments of a more concluſive nature to theſe diplomatic pretenſions: it directed Dombrowſki, a Poliſh general in its ſervice, to ſeiſe upon fort Santo-Leone, ſituate on the frontier of the duchy of Urbino. The peaſants of the ſurrounding country, called together by the ſound of the *tocſin*, and animated by that devotion, or rather that ſpirit of fanaticiſm, with which pains had long been taken to inſpire them—the unfortunate peaſants engaged in combat with the Cis-Alpine troops. This firſt ſcene of civil war between the inhabitants of Italy was pretty bloody. Better conduct could not have been expected of the papal militia. The fort of Santo-Leone even made ſome reſiſtance. The commandant, however, yielded to menaces, but obtained the honours of war.—For the preſent, the victorious troops did not proceed farther.

Conſternation prevailed in Rome on the intelligence of this aggreſſion. The government was oppreſſed by too many calamities to think of defending itſelf. Scarcity of caſh, popular murmurs, ruinous meaſures of finance, exundations of the Tiber, inſurrections in various parts of the Eccleſiaſtical State—every circumſtance concurred in overwhelming the pontiff with a weight of ſolicitude. The firſt and only plan that preſented itſelf to his mind was that of appeaſing the reſentment of his enterpriſing neighbours with all poſſible

poſſible ſpeed: for which purpoſe, he framed, in concert with the miniſter Buonaparte, a memorial in which he acknowledged the Cis-Alpine republic, and teſtified the moſt earneſt deſire of living on good terms with it.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Immediate Cauſe of the Downfall of the Roman Government.

WE now approach that epoch ſo deciſive for the Holy See—the twenty-eighth of December, 1797, from which day we may date its ſubverſion.

Ten or fifteen days, however, previous to that period, there did not yet appear any of thoſe ſymptoms that are uſually precurſive to a ſtriking cataſtrophe. The diſcontent of the people was indeed ſtrongly marked; and it aroſe from various motives—the dearneſs of proviſions, the daily increaſing depreciation of the *cedole*, and ſeveral edicts reſpecting money-matters, which alarmed the indigent claſs of the community: But it did not appear probable that theſe grievances ſhould ſo ſoon have pro-

duced a univerſal inſurrection, much leſs the overthrow of an ancient government to which the people were attached by numerous ties. There were in Rome many perſons of different ranks who profeſſed the maxims of the French revolution: but they were not all equally reſpectable for their conduct; and there were but a very ſmall number whoſe influence could appear formidable to the Holy See. A little activity in the police would perhaps have proved ſufficient to keep theſe in ſubjection for a long time: and nothing leſs than one of thoſe great events which forcibly ſpeak to the ſenſes—ſuch as the ſuicide of Lucretia, or the blood-ſtained garb of Cæſar—would have been requiſite to produce a revolution ſo ſudden, ſo complete, from elements apparently ſo weak.

The pontiff himſelf affected the moſt perfect ſecurity amid the weighty ſubjects of inquietude by which he was environed. He went every day to prayers at the Vatican, and afterward to take an airing a few miles out of Rome. Whatever anxiety he felt, ſolely regarded the reſult of his negotiation at Milan, whither he had ſent on miſſion a cardinal who gave him little hope. The Cis-Alpine republic ſhowed no diſpoſition to conciliation: it kept proviſional poſſeſſion of the fort of Santo-Leone: it talked of withdrawing from the pawn-banks of Rome the ſums which its citizens had lodged there while they remained under the Auſtrian dominion.

The prieſts, acting perfectly in character, continued to inflame the weak minds, to foſter in them an averſion to French principles, and to mourn over the calamities of the church: they ran from temple to temple, from ſtreet to ſtreet, preaching and predicting "the end "of the world," and, according to the cuſtom which has ever prevailed, calling in the aid of miracles to ſupport their prophecies. They had not an idea that they were ſo near the end of their reign, which to them in fact was "the end of the world."

At this time there was in Rome a propheteſs of another kind—a Frenoh woman named la Brouſſe, who was with all ſincerity a fanatic, or rather under the influence of ſober madneſs. She foretold that the empire of the popes was drawing near to its end; that heaven

was

was weary of it: and that ſhe would not depart from Rome till ſhe had ſeen that prediction accompliſhed. At any other time her extravagancies would have excited only laughter or pity: but at the preſent period they co-incided with much more alarming ſymptoms; and they did not fail to produce ſome ſenſation.

Such were the various diſpoſitions of the inhabitants of Rome at the moment of the ſilently gathering and almoſt unperceived ſtorm which broke forth on the twenty-eighth of December.

We live at too ſhort a diſtance from that event to uſe the language of hiſtory in relating it. The paſſions have on both ſides diſfigured its features; nor would they, on either hand, pardon that impartiality which ſhould fairly appreciate what was in great meaſure their work. A ſummary of facts, therefore, and a ſtatement of their conſequences, will be ſufficient for the performance of the taſk which we have undertaken to fulfil.

It appears from the temperate report ſent by the ambaſſador Buonaparte, on the eleventh of Nivoſe, to the miniſter of foreign relations, that neither he, nor the chevalier Azara whom his ſagacity and long experience rendered ſo competent a judge of ſuch matters, had conceived that a popular commotion, attempted five days before, bore any characteriſtic of a nature that could juſtly alarm the government; and that, far from concurring in it, the French miniſter had marked it with his diſapprobation. The papal ſoldiery, if directed by prudent orders or guided by well-intentioned chiefs, would have been ſufficient to quell that diſturbance without effuſion of blood. But the inſurgents having run to take refuge within the juriſdiction of the French ambaſſador's palace, which ought to have been for them not a place of head-quarters as they pretended, but an inviolable aſylum, the armed force, equally vile as atrocious, had the audacity to purſue them into its precincts, and to convert that aſylm into a theatre of battle. Already the law of nations was moſt glaringly violated: and this firſt tranſgreſſion, not having been prevented, not having been immediately atoned for, was ſufficient very

ſeriouſly

ſeriouſly to inculpate the Roman government; but it was followed by a ſecond crime which decided the ruin of the papacy.

Among thoſe by whom the French ambaſſador was ſurrounded, and who co-operated with him in checking the effervescence of the inſurgents and particularly the blind fury of the pontiff's ſatellites, was general Duphot, ſo honourably diſtinguiſhed by his brilliant courage. He ſprang toward that infuriate band who had already immolated ſo many unfortunate victims in the courts and the veſtibule and even on the ſtair-caſes of the French palace; and that young hero, whom Hymen was preparing to unite within few days with the ſiſter of general Buonaparte, fell the victim of his generous devotion, under the repeated ſtrokes of the baſe wretches whoſe rage he had hoped to appeaſe.

The chevalier Angiolini, the Tuſcan miniſter, had hardly received intelligence of this ſhocking tranſaction when he haſtened to the miniſter of France to participate his dangers, and diſplayed in this critical moment equal prudence and courage. Animated by the ſame ſentiments, the chevalier Azara conſigned to oblivion every ſubject of complaint which he had againſt the Holy See, and—ſolely deſirous of ſerving it at the ſame time that he afforded to the French a new teſtimony of his affection, and to the city of Rome a freſh proof of his prudence and firmneſs—he flew to the Vatican.

The pope was ſick: his ſecretary of ſtate was wholly ignorant of what had happened at the French ambaſſador's palace; and, two hours after the event, the Roman government had not yet taken the ſlighteſt ſtep in conſequence of it. It was nevertheleſs by its orders that the detachment of cannibals had been ſent againſt the inſurgent crowd; and after having let them looſe into that theatre of blood, it had not appointed any perſon to watch or direct or reſtrain them! Even if the Roman government had been guilty of no other crime than that inconceivable improvidence, could it poſſibly have eſcaped the reſentment of the French republic?

After the ſcene of which the miniſter Buonaparte had been a witneſs—at the ſight of the lifeleſs corſe of his unfortunate compatriot who had been on the point of becoming his kinſman, and who, after having braved death

death in the field of glory, had received the fatal wound from the hands of an unbridled ſoldiery—he conceived that the dignity of his character, much more than the care of his perſonal ſafety, forbade his longer ſtay in a place where the moſt ſacred rights were violated, and certain impunity ſeemed to await the violation.

It would not be credited, if Joſeph Buonaparte had not himſelf affirmed the fact, that fourteen hours were elapſed after the murder of general Duphot, before a ſingle Roman preſented himſelf to inquire into the ſtate of affairs.

During that interval the French ambaſſador had written ſeveral letters to the ſecretary of ſtate to acquaint him with his firm determination of quitting Rome, and to demand of him the neceſſary paſſports. The cardinal Doria vainly attempted to prevail on him to ſtay: the ambaſſador departed the next morning for Florence, whence he tranſmitted to the French directory a narrative of what had happened in Rome. He took charge of a diſpatch from the cardinal to the marquis Maſſimi, at that time the ſovereign pontiff's miniſter in Paris. In that diſpatch Doria deplored, in the name of the holy father and in his own, an event which it had, by his account, been impoſſible for them either to foreſee or prevent. "You are to requeſt of the directory," ſaid he to the marquis, "that they will demand what-"ever ſatisfaction they think proper. To demand and "to obtain it, will be the ſame thing: for neither his "holineſs nor I, nor the court of Rome will ever "be eaſy in mind until certain that the directory is "ſatisfied."

It will naturally be aſked how the pope and his ſecretary were employed during that ſcene which now called forth thoſe expreſſions of their tardy repentance. Every circumſtance proves that cardinal Doria, incapable of guiding the reins of government in difficult times, and equally incapable of any participation in a conſpiracy of which he muſt have fallen one of the firſt victims, had made no preparation, and that, at the moment of the exploſion, his reaſon was quite bewildered. As to the pope, the ſtate of his health, if we may believe Doria's account, did not allow that he ſhould even be informed of the affair before night. It appears there-

fore

fore that neither the one nor the other was chargeable on this occaſion with any thing more than very great improvidence. Accordingly, the ambaſſador Buonaparte. though fired with juſt reſentment, did not inculpate either the pontiff or his miniſter: he even thought it his duty, at the moment of his departure, to give the ſecretary of ſtate a laſt teſtimony of his perſonal eſteem, and to aſſure him that he would retain "the moſt cordial "remembrance of the character and the conduct, and "the polite and friendly behaviour of the cardinal "Doria, whoſe goodneſs of heart was not in its "proper ſphere among the irreconcilable enemies of "the French name who ſtill governed the court of "Rome."

Scarcely was Joſeph Buonaparte gone from the city when the chevalier Azara was earneſtly entreated in the pope's name to exert his efforts to recall him. The Spaniſh miniſter, whoſe interpoſition it was now ſomewhat too late to invoke, contented himſelf with anſwering that he was prohibited to take any further concern in the affairs of Rome. Beſides, Joſeph Buonaparte was very little diſpoſed to yield to ſolicitations of that kind. He thus wrote on the ſubject to the rulers of the French republic—"This government does not ſwerve from "its uſual character. Crafty and raſh in compaſſing "criminal deeds, baſe and groveling after they have "been committed, it now lies proſtrate at the feet of the "miniſter Azara, entreating him to come to me at Flo-"rence, and bring me back to Rome."

A government thus appreciated could not hope to obtain pardon; and vengeance cloſely followed the crime which it had at leaſt ſuffered to be perpetrated.

In the infliction of that vengeance the Cis-Alpines took the lead. Scarcely were they informed of what had happened at Rome, when loud accents of indignation reſounded in their political aſſemblies and in their private ſocieties. At Milan, on every ſide, were heard the cries of "Death to the aſſaſſin pontiff! Vengeance to our de-"liverers!" In the conſtitutional circle a levy of troops was recommended, for the purpoſe of making war on the pope: and while the Italian and French forces were already on their march toward his dominions,

letters

letters from Milan ſaid—" Soon ſhall that Tiber which " is ſtained with the blood of our brethren—that Capitol " inhabited by aſſaſſin prieſts—that Field of Mars which " bluſhes to be trodden by a nation of ſlaves—be purified " from the accumulated crimes and ignominy and ſer- " vitude of twenty centuries."

Meantime diſmay and conſternation had ſeiſed upon all thoſe who ſtood in conſpicuous ſtations in Rome. The government diſpatched couriers in every direction, and ſtrove to intereſt in its favour the courts of Florence, of Naples, and of Vienna. More ſuſpicious and implacable than at any former period—now, at a time when its own feebleneſs and the impending danger ſhould have enforced the practice of at leaſt mildneſs and moderation, it multiplied the number of impriſonments; and, mingling religious mummery with political rigor, it ſuſpended all theatric entertainments, appointed a jubilee, and prayers, and ſermons.

Recovered from its firſt ſtupor, it puts into circulation a *moſt true and faithful* ſtatement, in which it depicts the conduct of the French in the moſt odious colours. A Roman journaliſt carries ſtill farther the audacity of unbluſhing impudence: he announces to the univerſe that the pope is preparing to " arm a hundred and ſixty thou- " ſand men, and to drive France back within her an- " cient limits." He formally gives the lie to the editor of the Florence gazette: " What muſt," ſays he, " above " every thing elſe, excite the indignation of the public, " is the intolerable impudence with which ſome people " have endeavoured, by a heap of falſehoods, to blacken " the conduct of the pontifical government, on the oc- " caſion of an event which the time and the circum- " ſtances and a connected ſeries of facts render ſo noto- " rious as to create an impoſſibility of its affording room " for either miſconception or controverſy. But the " world will ſee who has been the author of the popu- " lar commotions, what means have been employed, " what ſchemes have been concerted, to realiſe the " plan of producing a revolution among the people of " Rome, ever faithful to their God and to their " ſovereign. A glance of the eye caſt over Italy will " be ſufficient to furniſh a refutation of ſuch calumnies, " and to prove the moderation and forbearance of the

" pontifical

" pontifical miniſter. It is only neceſſary to obſerve " in what manner and during how long a period that " government has, through the love of peace, exhibited " to Europe the ſpectacle of the moſt painful humi- " liations, the greateſt ſacrifices, the moſt deplorable " condition," &c.

From the tranſactions that had preceded the murder of Duphot which was no more than the bloody cataſtrophe of a tedious drama, it becomes eaſy to appreciate this language, no leſs hypocritic than inſolent.

General Berthier was directed to avenge the French republic. Arriving at Ancona on the twenty-fifth of January, 1798, he immediately marched forward at the head of ſeveral columns of Gallic and Cis-Alpine troops. Retarded for a while by the ſnows of the Apennine, he advanced toward Rome, as if he were traverſing the departments of the French republic.

Could he meet with any reſiſtance? The pope was ſunk into a ſtate of weakneſs approaching to imbecility: the reſt of the Romans either were lethargiſed by the ſame ſtupor, or impatiently expected the arrival of the French. Some defenſive meaſures were however adopted by the terrified members of the Roman government. The cardinals, who ſtill preſerved ſome remains of courage, held frequent congregations, and deliberated whether they ought to flee or await the enemy. They ſtill ſtruggled to retain the reins of the empire which were ready to eſcape from their enfeebled graſp. They ſent commiſſioners into the Campagna di Roma and to the adjacent coaſt, where the people complained of the dearneſs of proviſions and their bad quality.

In the interval of expectancy preceding the arrival of the French, a more animated conteſt was carried on between the mummeries of ſuperſtition and the efforts of patriotiſm. While the ſtreets were paraded in every direction by proceſſions, the walls were covered with ſatiric *placards**. While the Madonnas ſhed tears in anſwer to the vows addreſſed to them, portraits of general Buonaparte were diſtributed among the people, with the inſcription,

* Poſting-bills.

inſcription, " This is the true likeneſs of the holy ſavi-
" our of the world."

Berthier had cauſed his approach to be announced by a proclamation which had terrified the one party and inſpirited the other. " A French army," ſaid he, " is " now on its march toward Rome. I declare that its " only object is to chaſtiſe the murderers of the brave " Duphot, the ſame perſons who have embrued their " hands in the blood of the unfortunate Baſſeville, and " who have forgotten the reſpect which they owed to " the ambaſſador of the French republic. The Roman " people, who have had no participation in thoſe deeds " of horror, ſhall, in the French army, find protectors " and friends."

Encouraged by theſe aſſurances, the people aſſembled in the *Campo-Vaccino*, under the auſpices of ſome chiefs, ſuch as Riganti, a lawyer diſtinguiſhed by his talents, and by his reſentment againſt Pius—the duke Bonelli, who had travelled much, and had brought back to Rome the ideas of liberty—a certain Pignateili, a Neapolitan, nephew to the marquis Gallo, who had recently quitted the ſervice of the emperor, and for ſome time, with undaunted zeal, profeſſed revolutionary principles at Rome. In this aſſembly the Roman people proclaimed their independence on the twenty-ſeventh of Pluvioſe (February 15). Immediately the tree of liberty was planted in front of the Capitol, and in all the public ſquares.

General Berthier lay encamped at the gates of Rome. At noon he received a deputation from the Roman people, acquainting him with their revolution, and communicating to him the plan of a proviſional government which they had adopted.

Soon after, preceded by martial muſic and all the grenadiers of his army, and followed by his ſtaff-officers and a hundred horſemen from each regiment of his cavalry, he proceeded directly to the Capitol, traverſing the crowded throng of a countleſs multitude of the people, among whom, however, if we may venture to believe the aſſertion of ſpectators worthy of credit, the number of thoſe whom curioſity alone had attracted to the ſpot was much greater than that of the real lovers of liberty.

Arrived

Arrived at the Capitol, general Bertheir pronounced a harangue ſuited to the occaſion—a harangue, whoſe Laconic energy entitles it to be tranſmitted to poſterity—

" Ye manès of the Catoes, of the Pompeys, of the " Bruteſes, of the Ciceroes, of the Hortenſiuſes! re- " ceive the homage of free Frenchmen in that Ca- " pitol where you ſo oft have defended the rights " of the people, and ſhed luſtre on the Roman re- " public.

" Thoſe decendents of the Gauls, with the olive of " peace in their hands, come to this auguſt place, to re- " edify in it the altars of liberty erected by the firſt of the " Brutuſes.

" And you, Roman people, who have now reco- " vered your legitimate rights!—recollect that blood " which flows in your veins! ſurvey thoſe monuments " of glory by which you are ſurrounded! reſume your " priſtine greatneſs, and the virtues of your proge- " nitors* !"

A ſpectacle ſo novel, a harangue ſo worthy of thoſe ſcenes which awaked the grandeſt recollections, might well be expected to electriſe, and did in fact electriſe, the ſoul of every individual preſent.

The ceremony concluded, general Bertheir was re-conducted to his camp amid peals of acclamation ſtill more ſpontaneous and more univerſal than thoſe which had hailed him on his entrance into the city.

Some perſonages of eminence in Rome—the crafty cardinal della Sommaglia, at that time cardinal-vicar—Arrigoni, who was preſident of the *annona*—and the young prince Giuſtiniani, joined by the Neapolitan miniſter, Belmonte-Pignatelli—had been ſent by the pope to the French general. They hoped to mollify him, to obtain of him terms of accommodation. Pius, or thoſe who

* This laſt paragraph differs, in my original, from the concluding ſentence given by Mr. Duppa in page 103 of his " Brief Account of the Subverſion of " the Papal Government."—Without pretending to decide which is the genuine ſpeech of Berthier, I have contented myſelf with faithfully tranſlating my text.

who made uſe of his name *, had indulged the hope that, at the expenſe of a contribution of a few millions and the ſacrifice of two provinces already infected with the revolutionary ſpirit, the Holy See might yet be able to redeem its ſafety. But the firmneſs of Berthier diſſipated thoſe illuſions; he refuſed to admit a deputation from a government which had already ceaſed to exiſt, and declared that he would receive none except from the Roman people.

That people, in effect, had created a proviſional government, and, reviving the higheſt dignity of ancient Rome, had elected ſeven conſuls, among whom Riganti and Bonelli, the moſt conſpicuous of their chiefs, were not forgotten

* During this criſis, Pius concealed himſelf from every eye. He remained in the Vatican, ſurrounded by ſome injudicious and obſcure counſellors whoſe names do not deſerve to be reſcued from oblivion. The deputies who were ſent to Berthier did not ſee the pontiff either previous to their departure or after their return. Every command, every information, paſſed through the medium of cardinal Doria.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXIX.

Conſequences of the Entry of the French into Rome.

AS ſoon as the ancient government ſaw that its hopes had been diſappointed, thoſe who had taken the moſt active part in its operations, or who had recently been its moſt culpable agents, perceived the danger which threatened them. Several eſcaped from the peril by flight—ſuch as the cardinals Albani and Buſca—a certain captain Amadeo, who commanded the company that had fired upon Duphot—the corporal Marinelli, who had given him the firſt wound—a certain Engliſh banker, by name Jenkins. With reſpect to the cardinal Braſchi, he was at Naples on a political miſſion in conjunction with monſignor Galeppi, and took good care not to return.

At this period, which immediately preceded the arrival of the French, Rome preſented a ſpectacle truly curious to an attentive ſpectator. Here were ſeen prieſts bitterly inveighing againſt the emperor, and crying out on every ſide that he had deceived them: there the members

members of the ancient government, uncertain what diſtant aſylum they might hope to reach with impunity, concealed themſelves in Rome itſelf. The biſhops, not thinking themſelves ſafe in the provinces of the ſtate, came to take refuge in the capital. A great portion of the people remained quiet, and ſilently awaited their doom. In ſeveral quarters of the city, the indignation excited by the fanatic devotees ſecretly fermented, and broke out in knife-ſtabs even more frequent than uſual. The miracle of the Madonna opening her eyes, which had been ſo ingeniouſly contrived by monſignor Galeppi, was more than once repeated, but now began to loſe its effect and made fewer dupes.

And how was the pope employed meanwhile? His holineſs ſome times gave way to the tranſports of grief: but much oftener, motionleſs and penſively ſilent, he aſtoniſhed thoſe around him by his apparent ſerenity. Was it philoſophy? was it reſignation to the will of heaven? or was it a mere apathy reſulting from the enfeebled ſtate of his organs? The queſtion was not decided at the time, and will perhaps remain for ever undecided.

General Berthier having come to take up his reſidence in Rome, aſſumed in fact the reins of the government, which as yet had only nominal chiefs.

His firſt ſtep was to cauſe a funeral ceremony to be celebrated in honour of the manès of the unfortunate Duphot. A mauſoleum was erected to the deceaſed chief in the piazza of the Vatican; and that monument, ſurrounded with cypreſs-trees and illumined by funeral torches, was decorated with Latin inſcriptions commemorating his warlike talents, his patriotic devotion, and his tragic fall. The urn which incloſed his aſhes was placed on an antique column erected in the area of the Capitol.

Not content with theſe laſt honours, his manès expected the additional gratification of vengeance. Several of the moſt active agents of the court of Rome, which in theſe latter times had rendered itſelf ſo odious, were arreſted—among others, the prelate Grivelli, governor of Rome, a pacific and moderate man, but who was made reſponſible for thoſe diſorders which he had not been able to prevent—the Benedictine Altieri, nephew

to

to the cardinal of that name, and the blindly-devoted tool of the cardinal Albani, that is to say, of the most implacable enemy to the French. Particular severity was exercised against the *fiscal* Barberi, deservedly hated on account of the influence he had acquired, and of the persecutions by which he had harassed all the inhabitants of Rome—whether natives or foreigners, and especially Frenchmen, who appeared to him in the slightest degree to merit the obnoxious title of *patriots:* not, however that he was naturally ill-disposed; for even his enemies, while they condemned the severity of his character, did justice to its integrity. All his exceptionable actions arose from his prejudices and his ignorance: exclusively versed in criminal jurisprudence, he was unacquainted either with political affairs or with mankind. He was imprisoned and banished. He would have experienced more rigorous treatment, if the chevalier Azara, who nevertheless had reason to be dissatisfied with him, had not interceded in his favour.

One of Berthier's first operations was to suppress the odious prerogative of the right of asylum enjoyed by churches and other privileged places, and to banish all French emigrants from the territories of the Roman republic.

The greatest difficulty was the task of composing in a suitable manner the new government of the Roman republic. To accomplish that object, general Berthier adopted in the first instance the most prudent expedient. He consulted the chevalier Azara, who, in addition to uncommon sagacity, possessed a perfect knowledge of the local circumstances: but the Spanish minister had many motives for wishing to decline so delicate a business; nor did he consent to take a part in it until urged by the reiterated solicitations of the French commissioners. He proposed then a sort of mixed government in which all the classes of Rome might have participated: he furnished a list composed of three cardinals, two princes, two of the most celebrated lawyers, some bankers, and some agriculturs. It was adopted; but its duration had not extended beyond the space of a few days, when a multitude of patriots, more zealous than enlightened, crowded round the French commissioners, and obliged them to make a new choice. Under the

the title of conſulate, a directory was created, conſiſting of ſix members, incluſive of the preſident. The lawyer Riganti was the perſon who filled the preſidental chair in this firſt conſulate, which had for its ſecretary-general a Frenchman diſtinguiſhed by his talents and his patriotic zeal, citizen Baſſal, antecedently a conſtitutional *curé* at Verſailles, and afterward a member of the national convention.

The government, however, was yet only proviſional: previous to its definitive organiſation, it was thought neceſſary to wait the arrival of three new French commiſſioners, who had been choſen with particular care by the directory, and furniſhed with all the information that ſuch a miſſion required.

From the very day of general Berthier's entry into Rome the ancient government may date the epoch of its overthrow. It nevertheleſs ſtruggled for ſome days in the arms of death. Such of the cardinals as had not already fled from the city on the wings of terror, were aſſembled in council, and ſeemed diſpoſed ſtill to uphold the authority of the pontiff. They were preparing to celebrate the anniverſary of his coronation: but how poignant their grief when they witneſſed the march of the Roman and French patriots who were proceeding to plant, with the moſt ſolemn pomp, the tree of liberty before the ſtatue of Marcus Aurelius! A heart-felt conviction told them that their laſt hour was arrived: the Gallic army were the real ſovereigns of Rome, and could admit no partition of authority; nor did there any longer remain to the Sacred College even the reſource of a capitulation. Humbled, diſarmed, deſtitute of ſupport and of friends, they ſaw themſelves compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Behold them now in the deepeſt affliction marching to the Vatican, the centre of their fallen empire. With mournful eye they ſurvey thoſe veſtibules, thoſe halls, which they had never been wont to traverſe ungreeted by the homage of a bowing throng. Thoſe cardinals, ſo elate with their dignity, find themſelves ſuddenly denuded of all thoſe brilliant externals which heretofore intoxicated their pride. They accompany with their profound but ſmothered ſighs theſe words of the ſcripture, which hitherto they had had on their lips alone, and of

which they now too late feel the truth—"*Vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas**." The glory, the influence, the power, the ſplendor, with which they dazzled the vulgar and were themſelves dazzled—all is eclipſed. Thoſe rivals of ſceptered monarchs will henceforward deem themſelves thrice happy to be mingled and loſt in the crowd of the meaneſt individuals, and to convert their obſcurity into a ſhield to ſcreen them from the animoſity of thoſe who triumph in their humiliation. With melancholy voice they pronounce their "abſolute renunciation of the temporal government."

But they have not yet reached the period of their calamities. At firſt they are quietly enough permitted to attend to the ſale of their effects, previous to their departure from a city where they no longer have any thing to expect but mortifications and perſecutions. But ſoon the ſtorm gathers around them: the new government is organiſed, and ſucceſſively obliterates every veſtige of the ancient, eſpecially every trace of fanaticiſm. The cardinalitian dignity, even the preſence of the cardinals in Rome, was deemed incompatible with the new order of things. The moment of extreme rigor was now arrived: none of the cardinals were ſpared, except thoſe whoſe great age or infirmities claimed ſome lenity. Two of their number in particular—Albani and Buſca—had no room to expect any favour. They had been the moſt active inſtruments in the laſt deeds of perfidy committed by the court of Rome; and they had both haſtily fled to ſhelter themſelves in a place of ſafety. Their property was confiſcated: the ſtatues and other precious effects contained in the famous Villa Albani were expoſed to ſale, as was likewiſe every thing that Buſca poſſeſſed at Santa Agatha de' Monti.

Several others, who ſeemed to have leſs reaſon to be alarmed, had alſo adopted the reſolution of fleeing before the perſecution which their anticipative fears apprehended. Some of them, however, would have had claims to indulgence, ſince they had not forfeited their title to eſteem. Such were Archetti, who had not derogated from the character of prudent moderation which he had gained by his miſſions in the North—Antici, who

* Vanity of vanities, and all is vanity.

who had ſufficient foreſight to diſſuade from every meaſure tending to alienate France—Altieri, peaceable and deſtitute of influence:—ſuch in particular was the cardinal Caprara. This prelate, after having been nuncio at Vienna, had, contrary to the pontiff's wiſhes, obtained the Roman purple on the emperor's nomination. Pius, who was extremely ſuſceptible of diſadvantageous impreſſions, had never pardoned him that triumph. Caprara nevertheleſs was a member of that numerous congregation who during the grand criſis directed the public and military operations; and he conſtantly oppoſed the unwiſe meaſures approved by the majority. He poſſeſſed judgment, ſagacity, as great a ſhare of probity as an Italian cardinal *could* poſſeſs, and ſeveral of the other qualities which conſtitute the ſtateſman. France had no perſonal grudge againſt him: yet he thought it improper for him to remain at Rome, and retired to Bologna, his native place, where his family were held in high eſtimation. Pignatelli and Archinto fled for ſafety, the one to Naples, the other to Tuſcany. Gerdyl, perhaps the only individual among the cardinals who had, together with the faith, retained alſo the love of poverty and the ſimple manners of the primitive church—Gerdyl, after having abdicated the Roman purple, went to ſeek an aſylum at the court of the Sardinian monarch, whoſe youth he had trained by his inſtructions. Renuccini witneſſed the confiſcation of his houſe and all his property.—Altieri and Rezzonico were confined to their habitations by ſevere illneſs.—Valenti lay at the point of death.

Almoſt all the other members of the Sacred College experienced treatment which ſeveral of them at leaſt had not reaſon to expect. We will particularly quote the inſtance of the cardinal Doria. General Cervoni, governor of Rome, who lived with the cardinal, had counſelled him to make his eſcape, becauſe, as he informed him, all the cardinals who were found in the city would be arreſted. "I will not flee," replied Doria: "I have "nothing to reproach myſelf with: I will participate "the doom of my collegues." Accordingly he was arreſted as well as they and ſeveral prelates and ſome Roman nobles.

The cardinals were in the firſt inſtance conducted to

the convent of the *Convertite* at Rome. Beſide Doria whom his generous devotion had not ſaved, their number conſiſted of Antonelli, one of the moſt enlightened, yet one of the moſt fanatic—the cardinal-vicar della Sommaglia whoſe intentions were at leaſt liable to ſuſpicion —Borgia, diſtinguiſhed by his talents and his taſte for the ſciences, and who might have been ſpared without any inconvenience—Roverellà, ſtill leſs dangerous than Borgia—Carandini, prefect of the *Buon-Governo*, who by his tyrannic adminiſtration had acquired a ſtronger title to the hatred even of the Romans themſelves than of their emancipators—Vincenti, very inimical to France, but whom his fears had at an early period rendered extremely circumſpect, and now rendered equally ſupple in adverſity, &c.—Archetti had, ſomewhat too late, attempted to eſcape: but he was overtaken in his flight, and conducted back to Rome under the eſcort of a piquet of cavalry.

Mattei had deceived the hopes derived from his converſion effected by general Buonaparte. The negotiator of Tolentino was no longer the conciliating mediator who had ſaved the Holy See, and who had been pardoned for ſome tranſgreſſions in conſideration of the pious and honeſt ſimplicity of his manners. His ardent zeal had blazed forth afreſh at the ſight of thoſe calamities which were pouring upon the Roman church. He conſidered as incompatible with orthodoxy the civic oath which the citizens of the Roman republic were obliged to take: he endeavoured, by his preaching, to diſſuade his dioceſans from the commiſſion of that impious act: he was arreſted, ſent into baniſhment, and his property was confiſcated. He retired to the country beyond the Po, which lay within the boundaries of his dioceſe of Ferrara. And the famous cardinal Maury—what will become of him amid this ſtorm of perſecution which might have been expected to reach him among the firſt? He had the dexterity to ſhelter himſelf from its fury. Concealed, during the grand criſis, in his dioceſe of Montefiaſcone, as ſoon as he thought the tempeſt overblown, he takes in open day the road to Florence; and his daring audacity is crowned with ſucceſs. At the diſtance of few leagues from Rome he ſtopped to change horſes at the very moment when the three new French commiſſioners

miſſioners had arrived—the citizens Daunou, Monge, and Florent. He was recogniſed: but it remains uncertain whether he himſelf was aware of the recognition: at leaſt his imperturbable features were not ſeen to undergo any alteration. One of the commiſſioners walks round his carriage, views him, and, fully convinced of the identity of his perſon, can hardly refrain from giving vent to his deteſtation of one of the bittereſt enemies of the French revolution. He regrets that he has not with him an armed force to execute inſtantaneous juſtice on his eminence in a territory where the inviolability of the cardinalitian character is now no more than a chimæra. He deliberates: but the horſes are put to—both carriages are in readineſs—and they ſet off in different directions. Thus Maury eſcaped an imminent danger, of which he did not even ſeem to entertain a ſuſpicion, but of which he may perhaps be appriſed by the peruſal of theſe lines.

Let us however acknowledge a fact which the ſtrongeſt prejudice cannot deny; and let us, in this one inſtance, anticipate the ſevere language of hiſtory. All the cardinals, guilty or innocent, were promiſcuouſly involved in the ſame indiſcriminate proſcription by a blind animoſity by no means congenial to the intentions of the French government or thoſe of its principal agents. The majority of thoſe princes of the church were objects of odium, or at leaſt of contempt and ridicule: but means were now found to render them intereſting. With very few exceptions, all thoſe who ſecurely awaited the arrival of the French were the victims of avarice rather than of hatred. The chief crime for which they were compelled to make atonement was their opulence, real or ſuppoſed; and if the cardinal Gerdyl, for inſtance, was ſpared, it was only becauſe the ſimple and modeſt life which he led in almoſt abſolute indigence, had ſufficiently notified to the world his inability to pay the price of his ranſom.

The greater number of thoſe who had been confined in the convent of the *Convertite* at Rome were ſoon afterward tranſferred to Cività-Vecchia. Already mention was made of tranſporting them to ſome remote iſland: but they ſoon learned by what means they might obtain their pardon. A few of their number with conſiderable

ſiderable firmneſs oppoſed that ſpecies of perſecution, for which they were not prepared; all the others deemed themſelves ſupremely happy in the opportunity of purchaſing their liberty by great ſacrifices. Several, as Altieri and Vincenti, were ſeen to renounce the Roman purple, late ſo envied, now ſuddenly become ſo dangerous; others, to requeſt as a favour that they might be diſignated by the title of "*citizen*" in the paſſports which were granted to them for their exit from the territories of the Eccleſiaſtical State.

After having, the greater part of them, ſuffered inſult, impriſonment, ſpoliation, they haſted to ſeek, at a diſtance from Rome, ſome aſylum where they might enjoy the only bleſſing to which they now aſpired—tranquillity. Some took refuge at Florence, others at Milan, at Bologna, at Naples, and in the ſtates of Venice. Hardly was the new government formed, when there no longer exiſted a trace of the ancient, no longer a cardinal to be ſeen in Rome except ſome individuals of that rank who were detained by their great age or their infirmities*.

With reſpect to the individuals of the great families of Rome who did not belong to the ſacerdotal body, they ſubmitted with a tolerable ſhare of reſignation to that cataſtrophe which reduced them to a level with the crowd of citizens. They were not enemies whom it could be difficult to ſubdue: their education, the effeminate life they had dozed away in the lap of opulence and beyond the reach of dangers and alarms, had not prepared their ſouls for the exertions of that energy which could have rendered them formidable opponents and worthy objects of perſecution. On the arrival of the French, ſeveral of them were heard to ſay with humble frankneſs, "We have been accuſtomed to obey: to whom our "obedience ſhall be paid, is of little conſequence to "us, provided we be allowed to retain our property and "our lives." Accordingly they were almoſt univerſally

* Certain phrenetics, who are unſuſceptive of any other ſentiment than hatred, will perhaps beſtow on us their reproaches for having expreſſed our commiſeration of the cardinals. To ſuch cenſors we give this brief reply—Even cardinals are men as well as we, and, when they are unfortunate, have claims to our ſympathy. We know none who are unworthy of pity, except thoſe who have never felt it.

ſally ſpared: their houſes, their furniture, their villas, every thing belonging to them, remained inviolate; nor did they ſuffer any other loſs than that of their titles and dignities. Some of their number even eſpouſed the Roman revolution with every appearance of cordial attachment. Such, in particular, was the prince Borgheſe, one of the richeſt individuals in Rome, and who was elected a member of the ſenate: ſuch alſo was the young prince Giuſtiniani, who is now at Paris as repreſentative of the new republic, and who has diſarmed malevolence by the temperate prudence of his conduct and the gentleneſs of his manners.

Thoſe few againſt whom ſeverity was exerciſed, had deſerved that treatment by engaging in plots which the circumſtances of the times rendered unjuſtifiable. The ducheſs of Lante, having been convicted of carrying on a counter-revolutionary correſpondence, was for ſome time detained in confinement. The marquis del Monte-Santa-Maria, by taking part in one of thoſe inſurrections which broke out in various quarters of the Eccleſiaſtical State—that of Città di Caſtellano—excited the rage of the patriots; and his country-ſeat was demoliſhed. The expenſes of the war, together with thoſe of the new adminiſtration, rendered neceſſary the impoſition of extraordinary taxes; and their weight fell, as might naturally have been expected, on the moſt opulent families of Rome.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXX.

Fate of PIUS *and of his Nephews.*

AS to the pope and his family, amid this general ſubverſion, their fate was the more deplorable as they fell from a more exalted ſtation. The ſympathy which they might have excited was conſiderably diminiſhed by the recollection of their exceſſes, or at leaſt of their errors. But there are certain bounds to reſentment even in thoſe boſoms which have been the moſt deeply wounded, even in hearts of the moſt rancorous mould. The pontiff's two nephews ſank in one day from opulence to beggary. The cardinal Braſchi, leſs greedy than his brother, derived the principal part of his fortune from the rich benefices that his uncle had accumulated on him. In conſequence of the proſcription, thoſe benefices were ſpeedily vacated, and he had reaſon to envy the ſcanty pittance of a village prieſt. With regard to the duke his brother, the voice of exaggeration has not perhaps ſwelled the amount of his extortions, or breathed additional infamy on the diſgraceful means which he had employed to enrich himſelf: but his territorial poſſeſſions, at leaſt, had certainly been overrated. His movable property was immenſe: his luxury of every kind equalled that

that of a little ſovereign: but we think ourſelves juſtified in aſſerting, that, in landed eſtates, he never poſſeſſed above forty thouſand Roman crowns of annual income. Within a few days after the revolution in Rome, nought remained to him but the ribbons and croſſes with which he had ſuffered himſelf to be accoutred by various ſovereigns of Europe; and he even thought himſelf thrice happy to find a temporary ſhelter in Tuſcany from the perſecutions by which he was forced to atone for his avidity, and for the ſcandalous uſe which he had made of his power. His pictures, his prints, his antiques, all the treaſures of his muſeum, his rich furniture, every thing of his that could be found, was confiſcated and expoſed to ſale. His lands, particularly thoſe which he had acquired in the Pontine marſhes, were treated as the acquiſitions of victory, and ſold for the benefit of the conquering army.

His wife, known by the title of the ducheſs of Nemi, was leſs harſhly treated than he. At firſt, however, ſhe was the object of peculiar ſeverity: ſhe was arreſted and thrown into confinement; being conſidered as a perſon whom it was indiſpenſably neceſſary to ſecure. But this was a miſtaken idea: ſhe was therefore ſoon reſtored to liberty, and even permitted to bring forward her claims. The French commiſſioners found her reſigned, ſuppliant, and hardly ſeeming to recollect that ſhe had lately been the firſt lady in Rome. She began by demanding of them ſixty thouſand crowns which ſhe ſaid ſhe had brought as her marriage-portion: the ſum was reduced to thirty thouſand. She then claimed for her daughter a movable property to the amount of about thirty thouſand crowns: on this ſcore ſhe was allowed ten thouſand. What ſhe was ſuffered to retain of her perſonal property may be valued at an equal ſum. She kept the jewels, the diamonds, with which ſhe was abundantly provided. Of twenty carriages which ſhe had owned, ſhe was permitted to chooſe two of the moſt elegant. She was indulged with the privilege of realiſing in national property the thirty thouſand crowns granted to her—an indulgence which enabled her to retain a part of the beautiful eſtate ſhe poſſeſſed at Tivoli. After the completion of theſe economic arrangements, which were more favourable to her than ſhe could have reaſonably expected, ſhe requeſted

queſted leave to retire to Fermo in the marquiſate of Ancona, whither ſhe was invited by the man—not her huſband—who was to conſole her for ſo many misfortunes. To this requeſt ſhe received a refuſal; not that there exiſted a wiſh to thwart her in the indulgence of that inclination which certainly was not her firſt eſſay: but the commiſſioners did her the very gratuitous honour of ſuppoſing that it was important that ſhe ſhould not remove from the vicinity of Rome. She obtained permiſſion to retire to Tivoli, where ſhe has ſince lived ſufficiently free from moleſtation.

It remains for us to ſpeak of the chief of that family, which, by a ſeries of imprudent acts, ſuddenly fell from the pinnacle of greatneſs to the depths of the moſt deplorable humiliation. Pius, who, by his own obſtinacy and the evil counſels to which he had given ear, had prepared the way for the overthrow of the Roman government, remained almoſt entirely ignorant of the cataſtrophe which completed that event. He was yet overwhelmed with the conſternation cauſed by the entry of the avengers of Duphot, when he learned that the cardinals had abdicated their temporal authority: he ſaw general Cervoni enter, who at this time held the chief command in Rome: he came to announce to the pontiff that the people had thought proper to reſume their ſovereignty.—"And my dignity!" exclaimed his holineſs in the accent of profound grief.—"It is too intimately "connected with religion, which the people are de- "termined to preſerve inviolate. They have ſo ex- "preſſed their reſolution in the ſolemn act which has "been proclaimed in their name; and they promiſe to "make for you a proviſion ſuitable to your rank."— "And my perſon!" continued Pius.—"It is in perfect "ſafety; and they engage to furniſh a guard of a hun- "dred and twenty men for its protection."—Pius was ſilent, and aſſumed an air of reſignation.

But the hopes which this beginning had encouraged him to conceive were ſoon diſappointed. Notwithſtanding the wiſh ſo formally and ſolemnly announced by the people of Rome in favour of liberty, that capital harboured a conſiderable number of mal-contents—of ſincere fanatics, who conſidered the fall of the papal throne in

no

no other light than as the downfall of religion—many hypocrites who from motives of vanity and ambition were intereſted in ſupporting the ancient order of things. Under theſe circumſtances, the preſence of the pope might give birth to conſpiracies. Though he had, while veſted with ſovereignty, been viewed with the eyes of hatred or at leaſt of indifference, his misfortunes had now rendered him an object of ſympathetic intereſt. The French commiſſioners thought it indiſpenſable to the public ſafety that he ſhould be removed from Rome, and even from the Eccleſiaſtical State. He was conducted to Tuſcany, not at the requeſt of the grand-duke, but with his conſent, which that prince would have been very glad to have the liberty of refuſing. He was ſenſible that the preſence of ſuch a gueſt might become troubleſome, and even dangerous. Pius was at firſt conducted to Sienna.

Here he lived in peace, and forgotten by almoſt every one except the devotees and ſome curious perſons, when an earthquake ſhook the place which he had choſen for his retreat, and threw down ſeveral buildings. Pius lodged in the convent of Saint Barbara: but, at the moment when the ſhock was felt, he happened to be walking in one of the public gardens of the city. He was haſtily conveyed from within the walls of Sienna, to a country-houſe called by the name of *Hell*; which circumſtance gave riſe to the ſarcaſms of the undevout who had not felt compaſſion for his misfortune. After ſome time he was conducted to Florence. At the moment of his entering this city, the ſky, which is uſually ſo ſerene in Tuſcany, was overcaſt with heavy clouds and the rain fell in torrents. Malignity, which is ſo prompt, eſpecially in Italy, to ſeiſe every opportunity of exerciſing itſelf, did not fail to obſerve that the pope brought bad weather with him wherever he came.

His firſt interview with the grand-duke, which took place in the preſence of the marquis Manfredini, was on both ſides accompanied by marks of melting tenderneſs. The grand-duke in particular was moved even in the ſhedding of tears: but he was not inſenſible of the inconvenience which might reſult to him from keeping the pope in his capital. In a few days after his arrival, Pius was

conducted

conducted to a Carthusian monastery, at the distance of two miles from Florence.

The fallen pontiff did not appear so deeply affected by his situation as might have been supposed: his health, far from being impaired by a catastrophe which would have caused any other person in like circumstances to die with grief, seemed to be in a more flourishing state. His relish for the pleasures of the table accompanied him to his solitude: and, on that subject, the following anecdote is related by credible witnesses—On his arrival at the Carthusian convent, his holiness, who, among the small suite of servants by whom he was accompanied, had not forgotten his cook, gave him permission to take his station in the conventual kitchen, and there ordered him to prepare for his table delicate viands which formed a striking contrast with the frugal fare of the monks. The latter, mortified no doubt by the comparison, pretended to be scandalised at the holy father's sensuality, and pronounced it to be the source of those calamities which desolated the church. The cook warmly defended the cause of his useful profession, and, in revenge of ill-humour shown by those recluses, slipped, unknown to them, a bit of meat into their peas-soup *. This horrible plot being discovered, the monks utter shrieks of indignation, which reach the ears of his holiness. Pius fancies he still hears the revolutionary storm growl around him: he inquires what cause has excited it: to avoid the repetition of such a scene, he orders that his kitchen be henceforward separate from that of the monks; and they congratulate themselves on no longer having before their eyes the scandalous exhibition of the sovereign pontiff's epicurism.

Vanity, as another anecdote proves—and that particular species of it which was the least excusable in a pontiff and an old man—the vanity which is connected with external accomplishments—did not abandon Pius in

* The Carthusians, observing a perpetual Lent, never eat flesh meat: and, according to the notions of their church, the smallest particle of flesh, or the smallest drop of its juice, mingled with any quantity of fasting-fare, is sufficient to contaminate the whole mass so completely that whoever tastes of it is guilty of the no small crime of violating the fast!

in his retreat. There lived at Florence a young Hungarian painter who was desirous of the honour of drawing his holiness's portrait, with the intention, as he said, of presenting it to the empress. He was conducted to the holy father, who accepted his offer with a sort of enthusiasm. "Let your pencil," said he to the young artist, "revive that bloom and animated complexion which "is somewhat faded through age and chagrin: paint me "in scarlet robes, to give the greater relief to my fea-"tures." The painter is said to have paid docile obedience to the directions of the pontiff's vanity; and Pius, even in the season of disgrace, still found a *flatterer*. It is asserted that his eyes dwelt with pleasure on that portrait, which, some years before, would have been a very good likeness, and which, by an innocent deception, carried him back to a less advanced age, and to happier days.

These anecdotes will to many people afford sufficient ground for dispensing with that pity which they might otherwise be inclined to bestow on him. Can we consider him as an object of compassion, when we see him so resigned, so contented, still so well disposed to relish the only indulgences that have been left within his reach?

It is moreover asserted, that, instead of repining at his fate, he has several times protested that he had renounced all hope of ever revisiting Rome, and that his utmost wish was to conclude his days in peace in the Carthusian monastery. He enjoys there likewise some other consolations: he is not forgotten by all mankind in his obscure retreat: he has there received magnificent presents from all quarters. One day he saw ten purses brought in to him, each containing five hundred crowns. The donator chose to keep his name secret: all that is known is that he was a Florentine. The present was accompanied by a note containing these words, "To "provide ten shirts for his holiness." Another Florentine caused a sedan-chair to be constructed for him, richly gilt, decorated with all the symbols of the church, and displaying in front a silver plate inscribed with these words, which their author considered as prophetic, "*Post fata resurgo.*" Many prelates, and almost all the chiefs of the catholic church, have made him considera-

ble

ble offers which he has had the generoſity to decline. But he accepts without ſcruple the favours tendered by ſovereign princes. He receives a monthly penſion of three thouſand crowns from a neighbouring court: the king of Spain continues faithfully obſervant of his former cuſtom of annually ſending to him an abundant proviſion of drugs, wines, and tobacco: he has alſo given him teſtimonies of affectionate regard which Pius has much more ſenſibly felt; for that monarch has not only directed the cardinal Lorenzana to continue to reſide near the pontiff, but has alſo ſent him a diſpatch in which he aſſures him that he has not ceaſed to conſider and to reſpect Pius VI. as "head of the catholic church."

The ſerenity which Pius enjoys in his retreat has nevertheleſs been clouded by a tranſaction which indeed was well calculated to awake whatever ſmall ſpark of ſenſibility he yet retains. That nephew, dear to his vanity ſtill more than to his affection—that nephew, who was the object and the principal accomplice of thoſe faults for which Pius is now forced to atone—was among the foremoſt in fleeing from Rome. He had come to his uncle, and ſeemed to take a delight in adminiſtering to him ſome conſolations. But the grand-duke did not think he could with propriety tolerate him in his dominions. Braſchi, when preparing for his departure from Tuſcany, took the liberty of repairing a part of his loſſes by carrying off from the holy father a conſiderable ſum of money which the pious munificence of the faithful had deſtined for the ſupreme head of the church, and not for the prince of the Pontine marſhes. Pius, fired with indignation at ſuch treatment from a cheriſhed nephew, reſumed a momentary energy to laviſh on him, inſtead of affectionate adieux, his paternal imprecations. The reign of nepotiſm could not have terminated in a more ſcandalous cataſtrophe.

Not alone did earthquakes and ingratitude diſturb Pius's repoſe in the different retreats to which he had been conſigned. The policy of the French government alſo gave him more than one cauſe of diſquietude. It was not that he conducted himſelf in the Carthuſian monaſtery at Florence in ſuch manner as to awake ſuſpicion: there exiſted no reaſon to apprehend that thoſe

perſons

perſons whom he had been permitted to take with him at his departure from Rome, would become the inſtruments of intrigue or fanaticiſm: they were a chamberlain, ſome of his gentlemen, ſome prelates, a phyſician —men as little formidable on the ſcore of talents as of influence. The pope himſelf led and ſtill continues to lead a uniform, peaceable, and ſequeſtered life: he retires to reſt at an early hour: he riſes very late, and paſſes the remainder of the day in eating, drinking, writing, or dictating to his ſecretary. His intellects are enfeebled by age even more than by chagrin.

At Sienna he had a kind of eccleſiaſtic court, and was ſurrounded by a certain pomp: the faithful ſtill flocked to his preſence, and courted the honour of his benedictions. But, ſince his removal to the Carthuſian monaſtery, his circle has been very circumſcribed. He wiſely avoids making himſelf too acceſſible, and admits the viſits only of ſome devotees or perſons attracted to him by curioſity. The Tuſcan government, which is deeply intereſted in watching him to avoid giving any cauſe of complaint to France, is extremely careful that he maintain no relation of a ſuſpicious nature.

It had propoſed to the miniſter of the French republic that he ſhould name all the perſons who were to compoſe his holineſs's houſehold, and ſhould have the inſpection of his private conduct. It would have been a circumſtance unparalleled in the annals of the Roman church to ſee her ſovereign pontiff under the tutelage of *a heretic*; for our miniſter at Florence was born a member of the proteſtant communion. Citizen Reinhart declined that delicate charge: but he is nevertheleſs equally well appriſed of every thing that paſſes within the Carthuſian monaſtery at Florence.

Notwithſtanding all theſe motives of ſecurity, ſome jealouſy has been excited by Pius's reſidence in the heart of Italy. Apprehenſions have been entertained, that, by ſtill continuing ſo near to thoſe whom he had ſo long dazzled by the ſplendor of his dignity, he might, perhaps contrary to his own wiſhes, awaken their regret, and furniſh the ground of ſome conſpiracy. In the month of Thermidor of the ſixth year of the republic*, the

* Between July 19 and Auguſt 18, 1798.

the French government urged the grand-duke of Tuſcany to ſend him out of his dominions. To our demands the grand-duke replied, "I did not wiſh for the pope: "it was the French commiſſioners who ſent him to me. "I would be glad that he were at a diſtance from Tuſ- "cany: but you will not inſiſt on my expelling him. "If you deſire that he quit the country, every thing "ſhall be made ready for his departure—carriage, inns, "ſhip: but it reſts with France to take the charge of "conveying him elſewhere." The directory inſiſted, and cauſed the following meſſage to be delivered to the grand-duke—"Send him out of Tuſcany, or we will "hold you reſponſible for the diſturbances which his "proximity excites and may yet further excite in "Rome."

In conſequence of theſe re-iterated urgencies the court of Tuſcany concerted with the cabinet of Vienna to provide a retreat for his holineſs in the hereditary ſtates of the houſe of Auſtria; and that was the object of the marquis Manfredini's journey to Vienna. Already it was determined that Pius ſhould be conveyed to the convent of Mœlk near the Danube, when the affair of the ambaſſador Bernadotte at Vienna induced an alteration of the plan. It was then propoſed to ſend the pontiff to Spain: but, Charles not conſenting to admit him into his kingdom except on conditions which appeared inadmiſſible, it was next reſolved that he ſhould embark for the iſle of Sardinia. At this period, his health appearing too much impaired to leave him ſufficient ſtrength for a long voyage—his intellects being weakened to ſuch a degree that his reaſon might have been thought alienated—and all fear being now vaniſhed of thoſe dangers which might ariſe from his reſidence in Italy—fewer inconveniences ſeemed to attend the meaſure of ſuffering him to vegetate in the Carthuſian monaſtery near Florence: and it is probable that he will there terminate his exiſtence.

Still ſtronger is the probability that his temporal reign is at an end. His pontificate—that is to ſay, his ſpiritual authority

authority—may yet ſubſiſt in the eſtimation of thoſe who think that the catholic church cannot diſpenſe with a head, nor Jeſus Chriſt with a vicegerent: but, diveſted of all thoſe external acceſſories which at once gave it luſtre and rendered it dangerous, it may be prolonged for the conſolation of the faithful, without diſturbing the tranquillity of Europe, and eſpecially that of Italy.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Principal Reforms effected in the Roman State by the new Government.

AT length we have reached the period of our career. The pope may yet exiſt for the comfort of ſome millions of pious ſouls: but the Roman government, of which he was the head, is irretrievably overturned, and its diſjointed wreck lies ſcattered in different directions. On the ſite which it once occupied, a new government has

been reared. Although its organisation does not make a part of our subject, at least our duty requires that we point out the most material innovations which it produced in what was termed the Ecclesiastical State, and especially in its capital.

It may naturally be concluded, that, immediately after the arrival of the French in Rome, the greater part of those establishments which were linked with the Roman church vanished from sight, and almost all those that constituted a part of the pope's temporal government. The principal edifices received a new destination. In the palace on Mount-Quirinal, known also by the name of Monte-Cavallo, where the Roman pontiff was wont to spend a portion of the year, the directory took their station, and established their offices and all their dependencies: and, although that palace is spaciously ample, the directory united with it, for their use, the edifice of the *Consulta*.

The Vatican, so long revered as the sanctuary whence issued those spiritual thunders which so oft have shaken Europe—the Vatican, where, to the disgrace of Christian humility, pontifical luxury was displayed amid surrounding master-pieces of the arts, and rich collections of books, manuscripts, and all those productions of genius which reflect honour on the human race—the Vatican, on ceasing to be the residence of a doubly despotic sovereign, was exclusively devoted to the sciences. There was established the new national institute, and there were lodged all its members, notwithstanding the aversion they had testified to that part of Rome, which prejudice had represented as insalubrious.

It may well be imagined that the *propaganda*, the Holy Office, and all the monuments of intolerant fanaticism, have for ever vanished, as likewise every thing not essentially connected with the catholic church. Of those various institutions which disgraced religion at the same time that they enriched its ministers, a single one has survived the universal reform: that is the office of the *dataria*, which owes its preservation to motives of policy. The reformers felt that they could not abolish it without materially injuring the prosperity of regenerate Rome, of whose resources a considerable portion was cut off by the revolution, inasmuch as it has for a time banished from her

her walls thoſe foreigners who came to admire and ſtudy the maſter-productions of the arts, and for ever all thoſe who came to beg or purchaſe favours from the papal court.

The *datario* annually poured into that capital of popery a ſupply of about three millions of livres—a ſum which could not, without ſerious inconveniences, be withdrawn from a population of a hundred and ſixty thouſand ſouls, nearly deſtitute of all the aids of induſtry. Beſides, it was much leſs the patrimony of the prieſts than of a multitude of ſecretaries and clerks and others who would, by its abolition, have ſuddenly found themſelves deprived of all means of ſubſiſtence. In particular, it was the ſole dependence of a great number of private individuals, who enjoyed, under the name of *vacabili*, annuities ſecured by mortgage of the produce of the *datario*. That inſtitution has therefore been ſuffered to ſubſiſt, with only an alteration in its form. The miniſter of the court of Madrid, previous to his departure from Rome, concurred with the new government in organiſing a new eſtabliſhment, whence the bulls for benefices are, in the name of the abſent pontiff, iſſued to the ſubjects of Spain in nearly ſimilar manner as heretofore. The other potentates who, for the ſame object, ſtill maintain relations with the Holy See, have likewiſe made particular arrangements on that head.

Another inſtitution has been annihilated, which was at once interwoven with both the temporal and the ſpiritual powers, and was incompatible with the new form of government: we mean the functions of the cardinal-vicar.

That officer was not only the pope's vicar-general as biſhop of Rome, but alſo a judge inveſted with temporal authority, and poſſeſſing a juriſdiction, both civil and criminal, which equally extended to the laity as to the clergy. With him lay the direction of the police, and the ſuperintendence of the moral conduct of the citizens. In the exerciſe of theſe powers which are liable to ſo many abuſes, he had for his ſecret agents, a horde of ſpies who frequently hurried him to arbitrary exceſſes, by blaſting, on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion, the honour of

married women, and ſometimes that of their huſbands. The twenty-eight pariſh-prieſts of Rome aided him in his functions: they inſinuated themſelves into families: they pryed into their domeſtic ſecrets; and their troubleſome vigilance had a ſtronger tendency to excite ſcandal than to repreſs diſorder. This ſpecies of inquiſition ceaſed on the arrival of the French; and in its ſtead was ſubſtituted a police organiſed on the republican ſyſtem.

As to the purely eccleſiaſtic functions of the pope, thoſe prejudices which the reformers wiſhed to reſpect would not ſuffer them to be ſuſpended. They were committed to a prelate whoſe exiſtence was hardly ſuſpected—the perſon who, under the title of *vice-gerent*, governed the dioceſe of Rome properly ſo called. He has continued to officiate pontifically and with all the former pomp. He began his career by aboliſhing a great number of feſtivals: and, although his juriſdiction be confined within the limits of his own biſhopric, he extended that abolition to every other dioceſe in the Roman republic. The French commiſſioners, far from oppoſing this kind of uſurpation, were glad to ſee an eccleſiaſtic authority, legal or not, reform an abuſe which the temporal power could not perhaps have attacked with equal ſucceſs.

The metropolitan church of the catholic world, the church of Saint Peter at Rome, has loſt nothing of its former ſplendor by the change of the government. The illumination of its dome has been ſeveral times repeated; and it has even been made to diſplay that ſpectacle, of ſuch magic effect, known by the appellation of the "*luminous croſs.*" The reformers did not chooſe to deprive the Romans of any one of thoſe acceſſories of their public worſhip to which they attached ſo great value. They have even ſuffered the church of Saint Peter to retain the income of which it was before poſſeſſed: its canons enjoy their prebends, hold their chapters, and attend the choir, as in time paſt. No alteration has been made in the veſture of the prieſts or friars: the proſcription has been confined to the dignity and decorations of the cardinals, becauſe their order was a ſurreptitious interpolation on the true eccleſiaſtic hierarchy, and they conſtituted rather the political than the ſpiritual council

of

of the pontiff. Reſpect was paid, in Saint Peter's, even to that famous *ſacred door* which was never opened but once in every twenty-five years; and over it are ſtill read the words, "*Pius VI. anno* 1775 *aperuit et clauſit**." Nothing was removed except thoſe faſtuous inſcriptions with which the pontiffs had decorated the profane edifices occupied as the ſeats of their perſonal reſidence: and the portal of Saint Peter's cathedral ſtill informs the paſſenger that to the care of Paul V. the arts and religion are indebted for that immortal monument.

The new government has particularly preſerved two eſtabliſhments of a purely temporal nature, in which the whole Roman people were intereſted—the two banks known by the names of the *monte-di-pictà* and the *Spirito-Santo*.

The former of theſe had originally been nothing more than a bank where money was lent on pawns, and which iſſued notes or *cedole* repreſenting the value of the property that it received. In proceſs of time it degenerated from its primitive inſtitution: its notes were multiplied far beyond the extent of its capital; and there is no exaggeration in aſſerting, that, toward the concluſion of Pius's pontificate, above four fifths of that paper-money were unſecured by pledges. The hoſpital of the *Spirito-Santo*, on the contrary, poſſeſſes very conſiderable revenues. It had acquired great credit, received depoſits of money, circulated its notes, and paid them without difficulty on preſentation. In theſe latter times, that ſalutary inſtitution had been utterly perverted: the amount of its notes far exceeded that of its funds; and nothing but ſmall notes, with barely the balance in ſpecie, could be obtained of it in exchange of its larger paper. To provide for his extravagant expenſes, Pius had greatly augmented the debts of that eſtabliſhment.

It was a taſk of no ſmall difficulty for the new government to remedy ſo many diſorders, eſpecially at the epoch of a revolution which neceſſarily demanded an increaſe of expenditure. At its outſet, however, it graſped ſuch reſources as circumſtances preſented to it: in the firſt place it aſſumed the inheritance of all the domains belonging to the extinct government, and of the property adminiſtered by the Apoſtolic Chamber: to theſe were added the poſſeſſions of ſeveral religious communities,

* Pius VI. opened and ſhut [this door] in the year 1775.

ties, whoſe abolition was effected without violent means. This reform was begun by ſending away from Rome all the foreign monks and friars, by whoſe removal the multitudinous ſwarms of thoſe pious drones were reduced above one third. In conſequence of this meaſure, ſeveral communities were reduced to two or three members: a certain number of theſe were united in one place; and the poſſeſſions of the vacant convents were declared to be national property. Another ſpecies became, by confiſcation, French property; ſuch as thoſe of the duke Braſchi. Thoſe of both deſcriptions were expoſed to ſale: but the former, inſpiring the purchaſers with leſs confidence, were not ſold at above ſeven or eight years' purchaſe, whereas the latter produced ten or twelve times their annual value.

In the *cedole* the government naturally foreſaw a ſource of embarraſſment. To raiſe their value a little, it ſtrove to open a channel to drain them from circulation, and accepted them at par to the amount of one third of the purchaſe of the national property. But this meaſure appearing to throw too great a burden on a treaſury which could not afford to ſuffer any loſſes, in a ſhort time the *cedole* were not taken at any higher rate than that at which they paſſed in the ordinary courſe of exchange.

To ſupply the city with proviſions was one of the principal objects which engaged the anxious attention of the government in its outſet; and here it reaped the bitter fruits of the diſaſtrous adminiſtration to which it had ſucceeded. Compelled to have recourſe to the ruinous expedients which we had employed in 1794, it bought up corn at a high price, and retailed it at a loſs.

But how was it to provide for this expenſe, and for all the others concomitant on the revolution? The firſt plan adopted was that of impoſing a tax on capital, and to exact three per cent. from all thoſe who poſſeſſed eſtates exceeding five thouſand crowns in value. But the collection of this ſupply proceeded ſlowly, and the public neceſſities each day became more and more urgent: it was therefore found neceſſary to call in the aid of thoſe enormous contributions levied on the principal families of Rome—

Rome—revolutionary meaſures, it is true—meaſures fraught with ruin even to the multitude, ſince they compelled thoſe families to curtail their expenſes, to leave their domeſtics deſtitute of occupation, their tradeſmen deſtitute of buſineſs, their workmen deſtitute of employment. But the circumſtances were imperious: nor is it eaſy to remedy the inveterate evils generated by a radically defective adminiſtration: it is not the work of a few months to re-animate agriculture and induſtry, paralyſed by ſeveral ſucceſſive centuries of ignorance and ſupine neglect.

What will nevertheleſs aſtoniſh all thoſe who were acquainted with the deplorable condition of the Eccleſiaſtical State, is the exertions which it was able to bear even after the diſmemberment of its two richeſt provinces, the legations of Bologna and Ferrara. By this loſs the Holy See had expiated its firſt offences againſt the French republic. A ſecond time it arouſed her reſentment: our army advanced as far as Tolentino: a contribution of thirty-five millions was demanded: the court of Rome found means to furniſh it, partly in ſpecie, partly in diamonds which at firſt were admitted as part of the payment: afterward the value of the diamonds was excluded from the account; and the pope was obliged to complete in caſh the full amount of the contribution. To this ſum if we add the requiſitions in kind, the produce of pillage, the ſpoils of churches, the taxes impoſed on the principal families, &c. &c. we ſhall not be guilty of exaggeration in aſſerting, that, from that country apparently ſo poor, there have been drawn by various modes nearly two hundred millions of livres *. It is true, indeed, that its means are now exhauſted—that the chief ſources of its artificial wealth are dried up—that ſpeedy diligence muſt be exerted to open others, as the only expedient to ſave that ſtate from falling to diſſolution at the very moment of its reviviſcence. One of the moſt effectual meaſures for warding off that calamity is to recall the fine arts which have been baniſhed by the revolutionary tumult from that land which ſeems to be their true birth-place. Even without awaiting the return

* Above eight millions ſterling.

turn of peace, the new government have already beſtowed their attention on that deſirable object, and their efforts have been ſeconded by France.

It is ſome months ſince the French directory have called for the reſurrection of that academy of painting, ſculpture, and architecture, from which have come forth ſome of the great geniuſes that reflect luſtre on our country. It was propoſed to complete the eſtabliſhment by the aſſociation of muſic: the Roman republic has even created funds for its ſupport, and aſſigned to it a revenue of ſixty-thouſand livres to be taken from the thirty millions placed at her diſpoſal.

But that revenue, and the eſtabliſhment itſelf, will be of precarious duration ſo long as the Roman republic remains unconſolidated. If it ſhould be ſhaken by new convulſions—if the proſpect of its permanency ſhould ſtill continue doubtful—if internal and external dangers ſhould threaten its exiſtence, and baniſh from it the ſecurity and leiſure of peace—there would then be ſtrong reaſon to fear leſt that capital of the arts ſhould lie buried under the ruins of the papacy.

We have now conducted the pontificate of Pius VI. even beyond that cataſtrophe which, in prematurely inflicting on it the ſtroke of death, has fruſtrated all the calculations of probability. We have alſo aſſiſted at the ſubverſion of his temporal throne, and the firſt operations of the popular government who have ſeated themſelves in his place. The head of the Roman church ſtill exiſts for the faithful: but the deſpot of Rome has diſappeared. A few reflexions on that ſingular event ſhall conclude our work.

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CHAPTER

CHAPTER XXXII.

Concluſion.

HISTORY abounds with events which elude the eye of common foreſight, and even take ſagacity itſelf unaware. The ſubverſion of the pontifical throne cannot appear ſurpriſing except to thoſe who are void of reflexion. Its long duration is much more aſtoniſhing than its rapid fall; an aſſertion whoſe truth is proved to demonſtration by the ſeries of facts which we have related.

For the artificial exiſtence of the government of the Eccleſiaſtical Sate, juſtly comparable to a coloſſus with feet of clay, no other cauſe could be aſſigned than the illuſion by which it was environed. But, within the laſt fifty years in particular, how many circumſtances concurred in diſſipating that illuſion!—the abolition of the Society of Jeſus—the progreſs of philoſophy, ſo formidable to ſacred prejudices—the efforts of almoſt all the ſovereigns to ſtrip the Holy See of its uſurpations—the continuity and impunity of their ſucceſſes, &c. &c.

The pontiff's temporal authority was ſo intimately interwoven with the divinity of his miſſion, that it was impoſſible to render the latter doubtful without rendering the former precarious. An elective ſovereign, elevated to the throne at the approach of old age and condemned to die without poſterity, could not ſtrike deep roots around

around him, or increaſe his reſpectability by alliances. His family, taking advantage of his tranſient ſplendor, might indeed excite envy, but could not, like thoſe of other ſovereigns, derive numerous ſupports from the operation of hope, from the permanency of their influence, from that reſpect which is mechanically paid to nobility of blood. Thus the ſceptred pontiff ſtood iſolated in the midſt of his court, and had no other ſupport than the ſuperſtitious zeal to which he was indebted for his exaltation. His intereſts were connected only with thoſe of religion; through it he ruled; and with it he muſt fall, unaided by any auxiliaries except the obſcure and impotent herd of devotees.

The perſonal talents of the pope could alone compenſate the fragility of the foundations on which his throne reſted. But what could be expected of a pontiff who, by the tedious duration of his reign, fatigued the impatience of his preſumptive ſucceſſors—alienated the minds of the people by his exactions—diſguſted all ranks by the crying abuſes of nepotiſm—ſucceſſively loſt all thoſe prerogatives which had ever been deemed ſacred—and, by his errors as well as his reverſes, convinced even the vulgar throng that the vicar of Jeſus-Chriſt was but a frail mortal?

In endowing Pius with ſome virtues which would have rendered him an eſtimable character in a private ſtation, nature had refuſed him all thoſe great qualities which ſupport a throne in tempeſtuous times, eſpecially that providence which prepares its poſſeſſor to meet anticipated events, and that dexterity which enables him to elude their influence. He had not even thoſe energetic vices which ſometimes procure a pardon for criminal deeds. To be able to face the exiſting circumſtances, he ought to have united the moderation of Benedict XIV. with the firmneſs of Sixtus V.; but Pius's moderation was never any other than timidity—his firmneſs, than tranſient obſtinacy.

If indeed, himſelf incapable of guiding the reins of government with a vigorous hand, he had reſigned them to a miniſter of ſuperior ability—if he had poſſeſſed the art of combining in aſſociation the ambition of the great and the aſſent of the people—all might yet have been well with him. But this was not the caſe; on the contrary,

trary, his miſtruſt and vanity excluding all thoſe who would have been able to afford aſſiſtance to his incapacity, Pius neither knew how to ſway the ſceptre himſelf nor ſuffer it to be ſwayed by others.

Under his long pontificate, the ſinews of that government which of itſelf was ſo enervate, became ſtill farther relaxed. No vigilance was diſcernible in the police, no ſeverity in the proceedings of juſtice, no order in the finances. There was nobody at Rome to command, nobody to obey. The miniſters themſelves felt and acknowledged their impotence: ſeldom was an inſtance diſcovered of their wiſh to injure—more ſeldom ſtill, of their energy. They had more than once been heard to ſay, with pitiful ingenuouſneſs, in anſwer to reclamations which they allowed to be juſt, "We will "give orders; but we are ſure that they will not be ex-"ecuted."

The grandees of the Eccleſiaſtical State were neither the adverſaries nor the ſupporters of that puſillanimous government. Without feeling any intereſt in its proſperity, they lived, with reſpect to it, in the moſt apathic neutrality. The ſplendor of their race, and their great fortunes, might have given them at leaſt ſome influence: but effeminacy and ſlavery had rendered them ſo degenerate that they would not have made any greater efforts to produce a revolution in Rome than they did to prevent it. They ſtood an unreſiſting prey for the firſt invader, whether he came with views of conqueſt or of emancipation. At the approach of the French army, they advanced to meet liberty, not with the enthuſiaſm of men worthy of its bleſſings, but with the docility of ſlaves. Fortunately for themſelves, fortunately for the people, none of the nobles made any attempt at reſiſtance: and their paſſive acquieſcence is attributable ſtill leſs to their want of energy than to their profound indifference for the government under which they lived.

Nevertheleſs, with ſuch ſupports, with troops whoſe compoſition and diſcipline were become proverbial, with a diſcontented people, Pius dared to provoke the French republic. Twice ſhe had diſdained to overturn his tottering throne: its ſubverſion was not an exploit whence ſhe could hope to derive an acceſſion of glory; Is the axe employed to cut down reeds? But an additional crime

crime decided the doom of the Eccleſiaſtical State. And although it ſhould be proved that Pius had no direct participation in that criminal deed, 'tis to him nevertheleſs, to his want of ſkill, his improvidence, his blind obſtinacy, his fanatic provocations, that we muſt attribute every thing which prepared and accelerated the cataſtrophe of which he has fallen the victim. Under him, the Roman ſtate had for many years been gradually periſhing in ſlow agonies: at the frown of exaſperate France, it only completed the act of dying which was already begun.

It will never experience a reſurrection, whatever may be the events which Italy is foredoomed to witneſs. The faithful catholics may yet continue to beſtow the appellation of "pope" on their ſpiritual chief, eſtabliſhed wherever circumſtances ſhall permit: they may, notwithſtanding this new tempeſt by which their church has been ſhaken, ſtill repeat that "the gates of the "grave ſhall not prevail againſt it:" but that amphibious ſovereign, half man half god—for whom the ſceptre and the cenſer jointly challenged the homage of mankind—has for ever diſappeared; and, viewed under that twofold aſpect, he will be regretted by none.

Time will determine whether thoſe who were his ſubjects—corrupted and enervated by every thing which can degrade the manly character—are worthy of being republicans. Whatever may be the form of the government on which they ſettle their choice, they will ſoon perceive that they could not but gain by any change; and, convinced that their ſo-long-retarded regeneration could not otherwiſe have been effected than by the exceſs of former abuſes and degradation, they will perhaps at ſome future day bleſs the pontificate of Pius the Sixth.

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THE END.